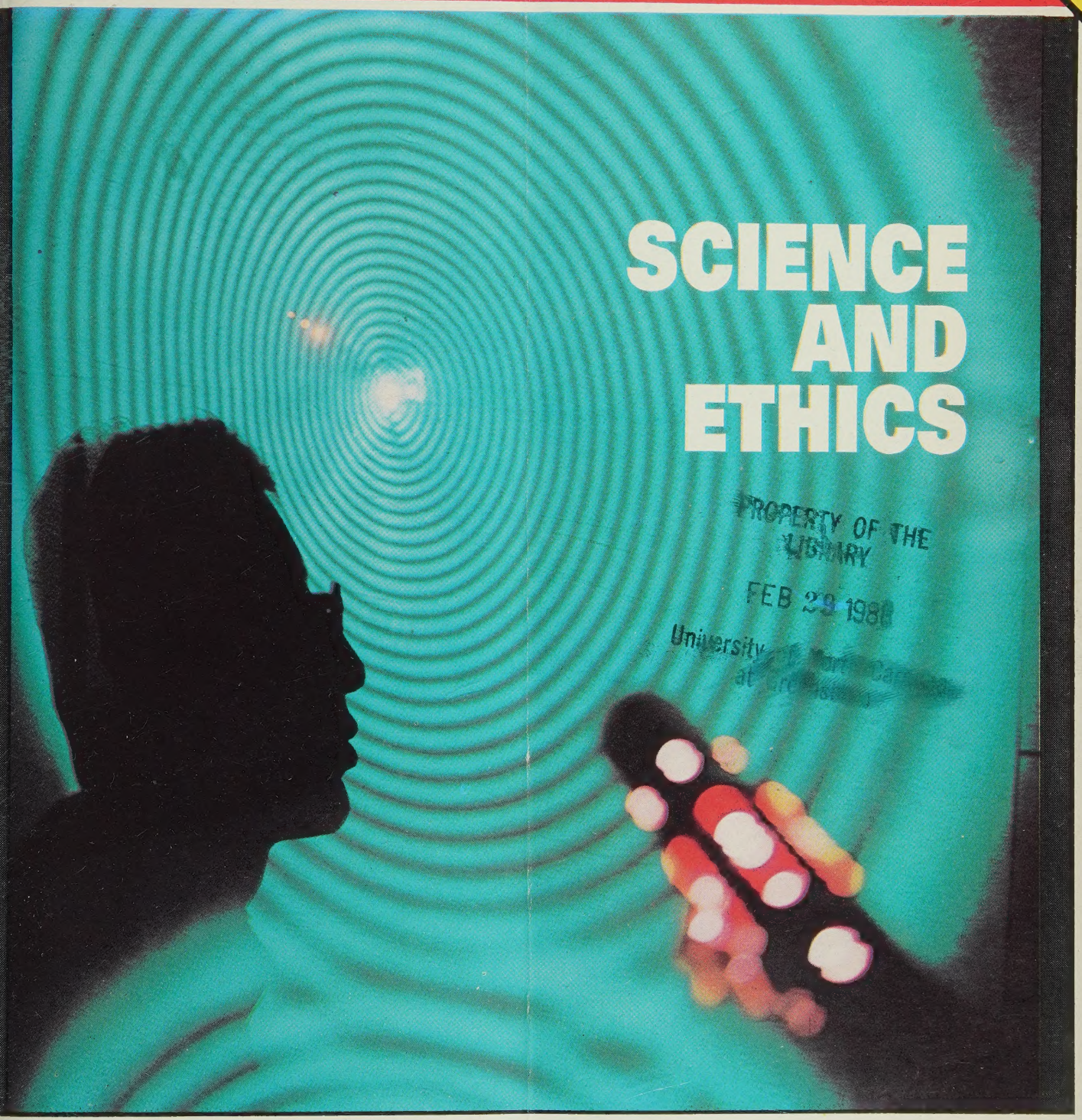
7

FEBRUARY 1988

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

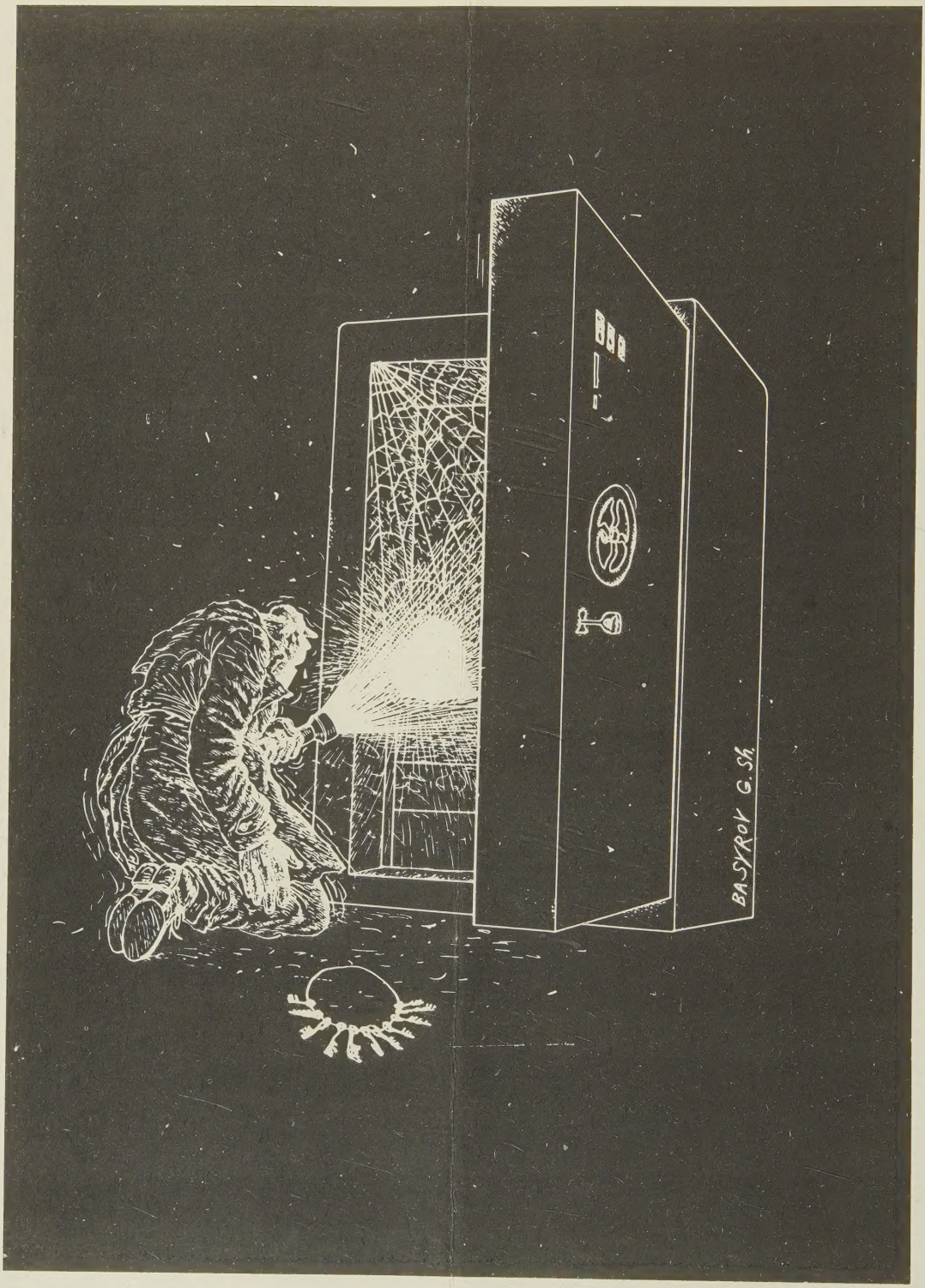
WHAT KEEPS THE GULF WAR GOING?



SCIENCE AND ETHICS

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
FEB 29 1988
University

F.R.G. HOW FAMILY BUSINESS WORKS



Drawing by Garif Basyrov

NEW TIMES

No. 7, February 1988
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Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN,
A. PIN,
D. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO,
V. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov

AFGHANISTAN

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will begin on May 15, 1988, and be completed within ten months, if an agreement on a political settlement of the Afghan conflict is signed at the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva no later than March 15. This date has been agreed upon by the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Republic of Afghanistan.

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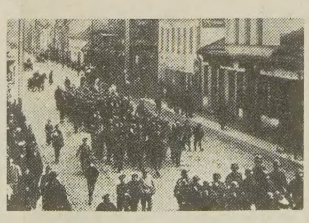

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Cover by
Gennady Koposov

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THE WAY I SEE IT

Is conversion possible?

Last year the world's military expenditure came to the prodigious sum of 930 billion dollars. This seems a particularly inordinate amount to those who have a clear idea of how effectively this money could be used by the world community.

Nevertheless, slowly but surely, we are advancing towards real disarmament, and conversion from military to civilian production is becoming urgent. Moreover, with further progress in disarmament, conversion will acquire greater practical significance.

However, after a close study of the elevant articles published by your magazine, I have concluded that the optimism displayed by some of your writers is unfounded. I do not think they are sufficiently familiar with a whole range of issues related to present-day military technology and military policy.

V. CHEBUKIN
Kharkov Region, U.S.S.R.

Still short of our goal

Like many of my friends, I have been an active member of the peace movement for several decades. With the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty, our efforts - peace marches and rallies, and the leaflets we disseminated - have achieved a tangible success. They have borne fruit.

But I would not risk wasting your time were it not for a conversation I had recently with an old acquaintance of mine, who holds identical views. "Now I can rest," he told me. "We have done our job. Let the governments work now."

At first, I was surprised, and then upset by this point of view. "Do other people think like him?" I wondered. To warn people against this delusion, I decided to write a letter to your magazine, once again urging all champions of peace not to relax their efforts.

I am sure that the conclusion of the INF treaty is only a start. All of us peace campaigners should make the atmosphere of confidence and readiness for disarmament irreversible. To this end we shall have to use new tactics, enabling us to draw increasingly wide sections of the population into our movement. Only then will our struggle for peace be successful.

IVAR JOHANSSON
Malmö, Sweden

Two inter-ventions

The article in issue No. 46 for 1987, "Lieutenant Colonel Warwick Greene's Special Mission," about attempts by some Western powers to suppress the revolution in Latvia gives food for thought. I remember my father's indignation when he recalled the intervention of foreign troops in your country in those yers. He had escaped such a perverse duty because he was disabled in World War I.

In the 1960s my sons watched the U.S. aggression in Vietnam in dismay, and celebrated when it ended before the eldest was of an age to be drafted.

BRYAN JOHNS
Milwaukie, U.S.A.

Mars can wait

In issue No. 4 for 1988 you wrote of the cherished desire of Soviet and American spacemen to make a joint flight to Mars. I understand, of course, that this is necessary in our age of space exploration. A Soviet-U.S. expedition to Mars would make a considerable contribution to science.

But let us take a sober view of the world situation. A mission to Mars would require colossal expenditure. Can we spend huge sums on a project which, though attractive, is far removed from present-day problems? Would it not be better to use the money to combat hunger and diseases like AIDS, provide aid for the unemployed, and build houses for the homeless? Let us organize an expedition to Mars only when our problems on earth have been solved.

STEPHEN JOHNSON
Freetown, Sierra Leone

GLASNOST FROM OUR MAILBAG

OUR READERS' REFLECTIONS

More facts, less emotion

My advice is prompted exclusively by my friendly feelings towards your country and your magazine. Memoirs published by New Times, as well as articles about the Soviet Union's role in international events, are sometimes very emotional and even biased. I would like the magazine to give more facts. This would enable readers to draw their own conclusions. Other people's emotions are not always convincing, are they?

TIMODIO SPOSITO
Fondi, Italy

Imported goods

Just look at the labels on goods in our shops. You will often see foreign names. Many of the goods are imported from Asia. There is no labour legislation in a number of countries there. Nor is there social security or the right to strike. A long working day, meagre wages and bitter competition. All this makes it profitable to sell goods imported from overseas. That is why our employers are closing their factories in France in order to start new businesses in Asian countries.

MARINETTE ARDENT
Nice, France

Why not in Kiev?

To our generation Chernobyl will always be a warning. After it we changed our stand on many issues. However, I can't understand why Vladimir Gubarev's play "The Sarcophagus" has been staged in London, Vienna and even in regional theatres in the U.S.S.R., but not in Kiev, which would seem to be the most appropriate place. Why such an oversight?

F.ANTOSHCHENKO
Chernovtsy, U.S.S.R.

OPINION

I wish you luck

Today I have decided to write an important letter to you. I'm praying to God that your perestroika will be a complete success. It's difficult not to take your part on reading Mikhail Gorbachev's book on perestroika, for the measures you are taking will have a profound effect on large numbers of people.

I therefore wish with all my heart that you will have enough courage to carry through your reforms. Ultimately, both East and West stand to gain from them.

Reading the last lines of Mr Gorbachev's book I felt that stormy applause was about to break out. "It is our desire that freedom should triumph completely in the next century," the Soviet leader says. "We have embarked on this path and call on other nations to join us." Bravo!

MIHRAN BOYADJIAN
Marseilles, France

SUGGESTION

Nothing but the truth

A letter published in your magazine alleges that Soviet journalists see nothing worthy of praise in the West and only write about the homeless and unemployed. I must honestly say that I did not agree. What does the reader who sent this letter want? To go over from a critical stand to praising a social order under which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer? Can we close our eyes to the fact that in the richest countries in the world people live in poverty and are openly humiliated?

We do want to establish peaceful relations with all countries, including the United States. But should we for this purpose hush up the above and similar facts?

Incidentally, the Western press is not ashamed to spread what are very often provocative rumours about our country. Only afterwards a newspaper may publish a denial of the earlier false reports on an inside page and in small print. However, the propaganda machine working against socialism has already been set in motion.

Of course we should not behave like some Western journalists, and must not spread lies about their countries. But we must be more discriminating in the choice of information published in the press and broadcast on radio and television. This would, I feel, give an objective reflection of reality.

G. SKVORTSOV
Maritime Territory, U.S.S.R.

HUMAN CONTACTS

Better mutual understanding

I want to tell you about my friend from the Federal Republic of Germany, Jürgen Schreiber, who teaches Russian in a Tübingen secondary school. Jürgen and I are the same age. We have known each other for a long time. We graduated from college and started work almost at the same time.

We celebrated the New Year in my home in Kiev. It was a joyful occasion for us and our close relatives. We wished each other happiness, health and prosperity, and joked and laughed all night. Overall, everything went well, as it should when friends meet.

But one recollection grieved me. Amid the New Year merrymaking I suddenly thought that we might not have met at all. Four and a half decades ago our fathers fought each other in a terrible war, the consequences of which make themselves felt to this day.

It was a great piece of luck that we children of former enemies met and made friends. But more important still is our awareness that all of us living on earth urgently need peace. My friend and I are against war not only because, like our fathers, we might find ourselves on opposite sides at the front, but also because we know well that all life would perish in a nuclear war, and our children would never be able to meet, talk and argue as we are now.

I am glad that my friend sincerely believes in a better future, a world without wars and violence, hunger and injustice. He greatly appreciates the changes taking place in our country - the policy of glasnost, democracy and perestroika. But the most wonderful thing about our meetings is, I think, that we people of different nationalities and views can find common points of contact that enable us to understand each other better.

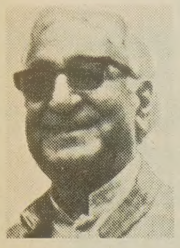
V. IVANITSKY
Kiev, U.S.S.R.

Bureaucrat: What with one thing and another, I feel as if I were between the hammer and the anvil.

Drawing by Igor Smirnov

PRIVATE OPINION

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK



ABDUL WALI KHAN, President of the People's National Party of Pakistan:

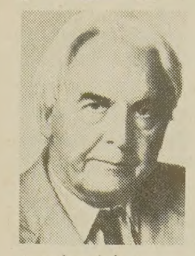
I see Mr Gorbachev's Afghanistan statement as a major breakthrough which will resolve all the differences that have existed between all the parties concerned so far. It is a very clear and unambiguous statement. The Soviet Union wants to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan over a period of ten months starting from May 15, provided that the agreement is signed in Geneva. That was something quite unexpected! There is no excuse left for carrying on the war in Afghanistan.

We have a saying in Pushtu that you can't clap with one hand. The Soviet Union has unequivocally stated its view. We now expect a response from the American and Pakistani governments. The Americans talk a lot about wanting peace. If they really want it they now have the chance. We have seen once again that the Soviet leaders are sincere and earnest in their desire for a peaceful solution.

EGON BAHR, prominent figure in the Social Democratic Party of Germany:

Mikhail Gorbachev's Afghanistan statement clearly demonstrates that as far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned, there are no further obstacles to a settlement in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops will greatly enhance confidence in other aspects of Moscow's foreign policy concerning further disarmament moves and the implementation of the principles of joint security. I also regard as significant the U.S. House of Representatives' refusal to allocate more funds in military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. That warrants the hope that progress will also be achieved in securing a peaceful settlement in Central America.

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES



Academician ALEXANDER SAMSONOV:

I would single out the rehabilitation of Nikolai Bukharin and the other men so unjustly repressed under Stalin. Our revolutionary perestroika stems from the Leninist concept of building socialism on the foundations of morality, fidelity to communist ideology and principles, and civic courage. In the effort to promote the human factor, what is chiefly required of historians is to furnish a scrupulously honest picture of the past, both our achievements and victories and our mistakes and tragedies. There is still much that needs to be revealed or that has only been shown one-sidedly. The education of consciousness would be inadequate if history were to list our positive experience alone. After all, there were other things, such as the lawlessness and crimes of the period of the Stalin personality cult and the arbitrary practice and stagnation of the 1960s and 1970s. The people must be told the whole story, and the Party is showing the way. The CPSU Central Committee Political Bureau commission is proceeding with its work of further studying material relating to the repressive actions of the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s. The U.S.S.R. Supreme Court has published the ruling of its plenum to revoke the verdict and terminate proceedings with regard to Nikolai Bukharin, Alexei Rykov, Christian Rakovsky and the other men sentenced in connection with the trial of the "anti-Soviet right-wing Trotskyite bloc." It has been established that the trial of March 1938 was a frame-up. Truth and justice have won out.

A GREEK EDITION OF NEW TIMES

νέοι καιροί

From this issue on, a tenth language has been added to the list of those in which New Times appears, namely Greek.

Dr Kostas Michaelides, managing director of the firm Nei Keri Elladas, which is publishing New Times in Greek, presented the first issue at a news conference in Athens. "In fact," he said, "people in various countries already had the opportunity to read the Greek edition last year, when we ran a trial issue of the Soviet political publication to gauge reader's response and ascertain the market. At a later date we would like to take into consideration the remarks and comments we received. We were delighted to see that the trial issue was fully vindicated and from now on the magazine will come out in Athens on a regular basis."

It should be noted that the public in Greece, as well as in Cyprus, where New Times was also presented, have taken a most favourable view of the new publication, with statesmen in both countries officially welcoming it and wishing it every success.

Greek Foreign Minister Carolos Papoulias sent a message to the readership of the new publication. "The news that the prestigious Soviet magazine New Times is coming out in Greek will certainly please and interest the readership in this country," he said. "I believe the publication will make for a deeper understanding of the Soviet attitude to problems of concern to humanity today. In that connection New Times in Greek will substantially contribute to the further consolidation of our bilateral relationship which, as you know, has progressed further of late, encompassing many aspects of politics, more particularly, peace, disarmament, economy and culture. It is clear that in the future our existing relationship will continue to develop."

NEWS NT

Statement by General Secretary Mikhail GORBACHEV on Afghanistan

The military conflict in Afghanistan has been going on for a long time now. It is one of the most bitter and painful regional conflicts. The indications are today that certain prerequisites have emerged for a political settlement. In this context the Soviet leadership considers it necessary to set forth its views and to make its position totally clear.

In the near future, a new round of talks conducted by Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General will be held in Geneva. There are considerable chances that this round will be the final one.

By now documents covering all aspects of a settlement have been almost fully worked out at the Geneva negotiations. They include agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan on non-interference in each other's internal affairs and on the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan; international guarantees of non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs; and a document on the interrelationship of all elements in a political settlement. There is also agreement on establishing a verification mechanism.

So what remains to be done? It remains to establish a deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan that would be acceptable to all. Precisely that, a deadline, since the fundamental political decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan was adopted by us, in agreement with the Afghan leadership, some while ago, and announced at that same time.

The question of a deadline has a technical and a political aspect to it. As for the technical aspect, it is clear that the actual withdrawal of troops will take a certain amount of time. There is hardly any need to go into the details of that here.

As for the political aspect of the matter, it is that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is, quite naturally, linked with precluding interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Prerequisites for that have now been created.

Seeking to facilitate a speedy and successful conclusion to the Geneva talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Republic of Afghanistan have agreed to set a specific date for beginning the withdrawal of Soviet troops - May 15, 1988 - and to complete their withdrawal within ten months. The date is based on the assumption that agreements on the settlement are signed no later than March 15, 1988, and that, accordingly, they will all enter into force simultaneously two months after that. If the agreements are signed before March 15, the withdrawal of troops will, accordingly, begin earlier.

Recently, another question was raised, whether the phasing of the Soviet troop withdrawal could be arranged in such a way as to remove, in the very first phase,a relatively greater portion of the Soviet contingent. Well, that too can be done. The Afghan leadership and we agree to it.

All of this creates the necessary conditions for signing the settlement agreements in the very near future.

That, of course, does not mean that no one can now obstruct the settlement, or push the talks backwards. But we would not like to think that some states or political figures might want to be held accountable by the Afghan nation and other nations for scuttling a settlement. We believe common sense will prevail.

The question of the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan was raised at the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

This was a reflection of our current political thinking, of our new, modern view of the world. We wanted thereby to reaffirm our commitment to the tradition of goodneighbourliness,good will and mutual respect which go back to Lenin and the first Soviet-Afghan treaty signed in 1921. Progressive forces in Afghan society have understood and accepted our sincere desire for peace and tranquility between our two neighbouring countries, which for several decades provided an example of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial equitable cooperation.

Any armed conflict, an internal one included, can poison the atmosphere in an entire region and create a situation of anxiety and alarm for a country's neighbours, to say nothing of suffering and losses among its own people. That is why we are against any armed conflicts. We know that the Afghan leadership shares this attitude.

All of that, as you know, has led the Afghan leadership, headed by President Najibullah, to a profound reconsideration of its political course, and this has crystallized in the patriotic and realistic policy of national reconciliation. It was an act of great courage and bravery; not merely an appeal to cease armed clashes but a proposal to set up a coalition government and share power with the opposition, including those who wage armed struggle against the government and even those who, while abroad, direct the rebels' operations and supply them with weapons and combat equipment obtained from foreign countries. And that proposal was made by a government vested with constitutional authority and wielding real power in the country.

The policy of national reconciliation is a reflection of new political thinking on the Afghan side. It is not a sign of weakness, but rather fortitude, wisdom and dignity of free, honest and responsible political leaders concerned about their country's present and future.

Success for the policy of national reconciliation has already made it possible to begin withdrawing Soviet troops from

parts of Afghanistan. At present there are no Soviet troops in 13 Afghan provinces - because armed clashes have ceased there. It can well be said that the more rapidly peace gains ground in Afghanistan, the easier it will be for Soviet troops to leave.

The policy of national reconciliation has provided a political platform for all those who want peace in Afghanistan. What kind of peace? The kind that the Afghan people choose. The proud, freedom-loving and courageous Afghan people, who have gone through many centuries of struggle for freedom and independence, have been, and will continue to be, the masters of their own country, which, as President Najibullah put it, is built on multi-party politics and a multiple-structure economy.

The Afghans themselves will decide the final status of their country among other nations. Most often it is said that the future peaceful Afghanistan will be an independent, non-aligned and neutral state. Well, we would only be happy to have such a neighbour on our southern borders.

In connection with the question of beginning the withdrawal of Soviet troops, there is a need to make clear our position on yet another aspect - whether the withdrawal is linked with the completion of efforts to set up a new, coalition government in Afghanistan, i.e., with bringing the policy of national reconciliation to fruition. We are convinced that it is not.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops, combined with other aspects of the settlement, including guarantees of non-interference, is one thing. Various states are involved in it. Speaking of this, we believe that Iran, a neighbouring country, should not stand aside from a political settlement.

National reconciliation and the establishment of a coalition government is another thing. This is a purely internal Afghan issue. It can only be resolved by the Afghans themselves, though they belong to different and even opposing camps. When, however, it is hinted to us that the Soviet Union should take part in talks on that issue, and even with third countries, our answer is firm and clear: Don't expect us to do so; it is none of our business. Or yours, for that matter.

But could hostilities flare up even more after the Soviet troops have left? It hardly seems appropriate to prophesy, but I think that such a course of events can be prevented if those now fighting against their brothers take a responsible attitude and try indeed to get involved in peace-building. If, however, they are guided not by the arguments of reason, but by emotions heightened by fanaticism, then they will be confronted with the greatly increased desire of the Afghan people to see their country at peace, and with the obligations of states no longer to interfere in its internal affairs. The Geneva obligations will close the channels for outside assistance to those who hope to impose their will on the whole nation by armed force.

And, if necessary, consideration could be given at that stage to using the possibilities available to the United Nations and its Security Council.

And now about our boys, our soldiers in Afghanistan. They have been and are doing their duty honestly, performing acts of self-denial and heroism.

Our people profoundly respect those who were called to serve in Afghanistan. The state is providing them, as a matter of priority, with good educational opportunities and a chance to find interesting and worthwhile work.

The memory of those who have died heroes' deaths in Afghanistan is sacred to us. It is the duty of Party and government authorities to make sure that their families and relatives are treated with care, attention and kindness.

And, finally, when the Afghan knot is untied, it will have the most profound impact on other regional conflicts too.

If the arms buildup, which we are working so hard,and with some success,to stop, constitutes a mad race by humanity to the abyss, regional conflicts are bleeding wounds which can result in gangrenous growths on the body of mankind.

The earth is veritably pocked with such wounds. Each of them means pain not only for the nations directly involved but for all - whether in Afghanistan, the Middle East, in the Iran-Iraq war, southern Africa, Kampuchea, or Central America.

Who gains from those conflicts? No one except the arms merchants and various reactionary expansionist circles who are used to exploiting and capitalizing on people's misfortunes and tragedies.

Implementing a political settlement in Afghanistan will be an important rupture in the chain of regional conflicts.

Just as the agreement to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is to be followed by a series of further major steps towards disarmament, with negotiations on them already under way or planned, likewise behind the political settlement in Afghanistan looms the question: which conflict will be settled next? And it is certain that more is to follow.

States and nations have sufficient reserves of responsibility, political will and determination to put an end to all regional conflicts within the space of a few years. This is worth working for. The Soviet Union will spare no effort in this most important cause.

(Pravda, February 9. In full.)

The supreme legislative bodies in the Soviet Union and the United States of America have begun debating the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles signed in Washington on December 8. These debates are only part of the ratification procedures.

The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has passed on the treaty, submitted by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, to the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the two houses of the Soviet parliament - the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities - for them to present their conclusions. In the United States it is the Senate's prerogative to ratify international treaties. The treaty was sent to the Senate together with a message from the President, and the Senate passed it on to three of its committees: the Foreign Relations Committee, the Armed Services Committee and the Intelligence Committee. The committees will hear the views of specialists on armaments control, as well as politicians and public figures with experience in these fields. The hearings began at the end of January and, on their completion, the full Senate will pass its final verdict on the treaty. A two-thirds majority in the Senate is required for ratification.

The first step is always the hardest

These procedures in both Moscow and Wahington are usual in such cases for both Soviet and American legislative bodies. What is unusual this time, indeed unprecedented, is what they are considering and debating. Not for nothing has the treaty signed by the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. been described as a breakthrough on the road to a nuclear-free world.

What puts the treaty in a class of its own is that it sets not ceilings and limits on the arms race, as was the case in the past, but eliminates two classes of the newest types of nuclear missile with the strictest control over their abolition. Like a forerunner of the non-nuclear future, the treaty proclaims that nuclear disarmament is not a mirage. It is possible and attainable. If the decision is made to take the first step, always the hardest, the next ones will be easier.

THE ONLY OPTION

SERGEI GOLYAKOV, New Times political analyst

The scale, and novelty of the decisions the deputies of the Supreme Soviet are to take created a special atmosphere in the marble hall of the Supreme Soviet building, where the first joint meeting of the Foreign Affairs commissions of the two houses of our supreme legislative body was held on Tuesday, February 9.

Apart from the deputies, the meeting was attended by representatives of the ministries and departments involved in preparing the treaty, foreign diplomats and a large group of Soviet and foreign journalists.

The treaty is the starting point for the restructuring of international relations on the principles of the new political thinking, and the present vision of the world. Work on the treaty took six years. Both sides repeatedly checked and verified the possible consequences for their security, and minutely weighed the political, economic and other pros and cons. The fact that the signatures of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan stand under the treaty testify that it does no damage to the legitimate interests of either side, and gives no one-sided advantage or superiority. Equality and equal security are the foundation on which it rests.

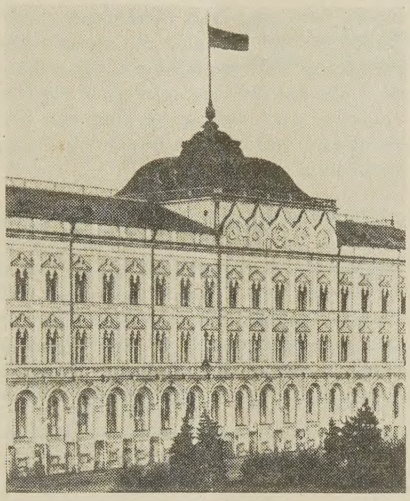
It was these factors that won the treaty the widespread approval of the world community and the Soviet and American public. At the same time, as Egor Ligachev noted when opening the joint meeting of the commissions, the Soviet people have a number of questions. They want to analyze in detail what the treaty gives them and what the world gains from it, how it will affect the security of the Soviet Union

What are the guarantees?

In working on tne process of ratification, the legislators have to take into account all shades of public opinion, answer all questions and allay all doubts. The members regard this work of explaining and convincing the public as an integral part of the procedure.

What worries people most? What guarantees are there that the United States will abide honestly and consistently by the treaty?

Two weeks of Senate hearings in the United States showed that, alongside a desire seriously to determine the essence of the treaty, there are a number of attempts to disparage it, present it as "deceit," as a "red trap," and torpedo its ratification. There are people in the West, some of them in very senior posts, who



seek to prove that only nuclear weapons can save the world, and that they are the panacea for all wars and conflicts.

And on these grounds they seek to use the signing of the trety on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles as an excuse for the further buildup and modernization of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and NATO as a whole in compensation.

Former U.S. Ambassador to France Evan Galbraith tried only last week to persuade senators that the best that could be done was to preserve the missiles (medium- and shorter-range - S.G.) and then try to persuade the world that this is in the interests of Western security, as it will deter the Soviet Union. As for the Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe, General John Galvin, although he believes the Senate should ratify the treaty, he insists on the modernization of NATO's forces both non-nuclear and tactical nuclear. The Senate hearings have shown that the principal enemies of the transition from confrontation to cooperation were and remain suspicion, prejudice, mistrust, and outmoded dogmas of prenuclear thinking.

What the Soviet people are particularly concerned about are the attempts of the American administation to circumvent the ABM treaty and produce offensive space weapons. But such an approach would rule out a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Such a cut is possible only given strict adherence to the ABM treaty.

The Soviet side proceeds from the premise that after its ratification the Soviet-American treaty must not merely be strictly observed, but should make a start in the process of disarmament right across the board. It should and could pave the way for a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, banning nuclear tests, reducing tactical nuclear and conventional armaments, armed forces, and banning chemical weapons. "We believe," Ligachev said, "that the conclusion and implementation of the treaty cannot fail to be accompanied by the expansion and deepening of international economic, scientific and cultural relations, and in general, as we see it, by an improvement in Soviet-American relations. All people everywhere would benefit from this. But one can't expect the course of disarmament to run smoothly of its own. There are powerful forces in the United States and Western Europe that stand firmly for the militarization of the economy and public life. So the efforts of parliamentarians in all countries and peace forces the world over will be required."

One group of questions is prompted by the image of the other partner to the agreement,by a desire to visualize his intentions and understand his mood. Another arises when people think of the security of their own home. Those who still remember two world wars find it hard to agree to even a partial dismantlilng of the shield that protects our borders. Such people cannot be suspected of favouring nuclear weapons, but nor can their experience be ignored.

People also have misgivings about the difference in the number of missiles to be eliminated (the other side's number is only a fraction of ours), about the British and French nuclear potentials that remain untouched, about America starting production of new types of chemical weapon, no less destructive than nuclear arms. Some are worried by the decision to eliminate Soviet medium-range missiles in Asia. There are no American missiles there.

No grounds for anxiety

Foreigtn Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov told the meeting firmly that there are no grounds for anxiety. All the equations in the treaty have been carefully calculated. They do not upset parity. The balance of security remains, only at a lower level.

The ministers' views were listened to very carefully and noted. But the members who spoke after them, while paying the Soviet-American treaty its due, urged their colleagues to take another and closer look at the document, and carefully weigh all its main points.

Democracy implies the right to have your own opinion, to have detailed and full information on any issue, including foreign policy matters. After all, the questions of war and peace bypass no home, no family. So they have to be resolved together, so that no one should feel he has been discounted. It is the duty of members to ensure that. That is why they suggested considering the document from the point of view of the questions raised by the public. To this end it was proposed to set up a preparatory committee made up of members of both houses. The proposal was adopted. The preparatory committee will get down to work straight away. It will hear the views of specialists and experts, and then present its own findings to the deputies.

That meeting was only a beginning. The bulk of the work remains to be done. One might at that point put a full stop, were it not for a letter from one of our readers in Kolomna, Dr Alexei Kurganov. He writes about the atmosphere in which the new Soviet-American treaty became possible, the shifts in our way of thinking that made the Washington agreement a reality.

To build peace together

Alexei Kurganov writes: "I often remember my grandfather's stories about how we and the Americans met on the Elbe, having defeated the nazis. My grandfather wasn't on the Elbe himself. But I remember well how he used the words 'we' and 'the Americans.' 'We' meant all our people, all of us. 'The Americans' also implied the entire nation. So it was not only the soldiers of the two countries who met on the Elbe, but two peoples." That was the beginning of our friendship.

"But after that we started slipping. The cold war, Powers, anti-communism elevated to the rank of state policy. They called us 'Russian bears,' and we retaliated with 'world gendarme.' That lasted for a long time. My hand itches to write that the blame falls entirely on them. But should I? One can hurl accusations at each other endlessly, but is it worth it? Thank God we have begun to realize that making mutual accusations is not the best way of conducting a dialogue. Then it became clear that such a situation could not continue. Stability was essential.

"The three main steps to such stability have been made: the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan in Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington. They are all links in the same chain, with the gold link, of course, being the meeting in the American capital. The treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is not just a military or political document. It is a treaty affecting all of mankind. Looking at it, I feel that my grandfather's attitude to Americans is beginning to gain the upper hand. Alright, we are different, but we have one thing in common - we live together on the same planet. And we should never forget that for a moment."

That too is a voice from the people. Clearly it is the voice of a young man, not weighed down by the bias and prejudices of the cold war, a young man capable of sober assessments. That brought him to his main conclusion: we have only one choice - to build peace together. That should be remembered by the legislators when they pronounce their verdict on the document that should become the first step towards a nuclear-free future.

■

U.S.A.

Bill voted down

● 219 AGAINST, 211 FOR WAS THE RESULT OF THE VOTE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. CONGRESS ON THE BILL TO ALLOCATE 36.2 MILLION DOLLARS IN AID FOR THE NICARAGUAN CONTRAS.

In the Senate the vote was 48 against and 51 for. But in this case the decisive vote is that of the House of Representatives.

The result of the vote means that after February 29 aid to the contras must be discontinued. That is, of course, a victory for common sense.

The White House made no little effort to try and get a different result. An unprecedented propaganda campaign was launched against Nicaragua, with the President himself taking an active part in it. Up to the very last moment Reagan and members of his administration personally tried to influence Congressmen. Yet the campaign could not be described as unprecedented. Remember the summer and autumn of 1986. Then Congressmen also had their arms twisted to force them to approve a 100-million-dollar gift to the contras. Although this time the sum in question was much smaller, the battle in Congress between supporters and opponents of such aid was much more dramatic. Not since 1981, when the contras first began to receive money from the United States, initially through secret channels and then openly, was the confrontation between the Administration and Congress so acute.

Why? Why was so much significance attached on this occasion to a not very substantial allocation - just 36 million dollars? Reagan needed to obtain Congressional approval for his interventionist policy in Central America. Judging from the results, he failed.

However, one has to view things soberly. No matter what the legislators on Capitol Hill may say, aid to the contras won't stop for a single day through unofficial channels, both private and government. According to reports in the Mexican press, for example, out of its secret funds the CIA pays leaders of the Nicaraguan counterrevolution salaries ranging from 3 to 10 thousand dollars a month. The CIA also "lends" the contras helicopters, light aircraft, lorries and jeeps, as well as providing them with other services. Nor do rich Americans grudge them private contributions. It is hardly likely that the White House will reconcile itself to its failure and not try to start allocating further funds.

Nevertheless, we would like to hope that the results of the U.S. Congressional vote will have a positive effect on the peace process in Central America begun last year in Guatemala.

ALEXANDER BARYSHEV

"The talks have helped us to better understand one another"

Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze talking with Mochtar Kusumaatmadja.

TASS photo

Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, on his visit to the Soviet Union.

Mr Minister, how did your Moscow negotiations go?

The talks and negotiations I had in Moscow with Mikhail Gorbachev, Eduard Shevardnadze and other Soviet leaders were of a friendly and constructive character. They were most intense and frank, and I am very pleased with that. I am grateful to Mikhail Gorbachev for his straightforwardness, for his lucid explanation of Soviet policy. In a frank exchange of views we discussed problems of bilateral relations, regional issues, the overall situation in the world. The talks have helped us to understand one another better. Their results have laid the groundwork for the further development of Soviet-Indonesian relations in various spheres.

This does not mean, of course, that we agree on all the issues. For instance, we are somewhat divided on the Kampuchea question. The important thing is, however, that we are unanimous in that it should be resolved by peaceful, political means.

Generally speaking, we welcome the efforts of the Soviet leadership towards the relaxation of international tensions, towards disarmament, to rectify conflict situations.

Indonesia approves of the Soviet initiatives with regard to the problems of the Asian-Pacific region set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech and in his answers to the questions of the Merdeka newspaper.

What, in your opinion, can be the effect of the implementation of the INF treaty on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region in general and in Southeast Asia in particular?

The U.S.S.R-U.S. INF treaty is certainly of major importance for the Asian and Pacific countries as well, because it provides for the elimination of these missiles targeted on the Asian continent.

This is a very important treaty because it creates a more favourable international climate for new steps towards nuclear disarmament and a political settlement of regional conflicts - including those in our own region.

At their latest meeting in Manila, the heads of state and government of the ASEAN member states spoke in favour of the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia. What does your country intend to do by way of attaining this objective?

I must say that we are idealists and realists at the same time. We told the Manila meeting we were all for the establishment of a zone free from nuclear weapons. Statements are not enough, however. We followed the progress of the dialogue between the nuclear powers because if they fail to guarantee the establishment of such a zone and to sign the appropriate protocols all our efforts will be in vain.

By now we have satisfied ourselves at the fact that developments have taken a favourable turn. This is not to say that we shall go nuclear-free overnight. But the Soviet-American INF treaty is a good beginning, a concrete step toward a world with less nuclear weapons in it.

You've mentioned discussing the Kampuchea question at the Moscow talks...

Yes, we certainly gave the Kampuchea question a very thorough discussion. Both sides agreed that it was necessary to work for a reasonably early settlement of the Kampuchea conflict. Did we solve any problems? It's up to the Kampucheans themselves to solve them, while the parties concerned can only be of help in finding a mutually acceptable solution. The situation is gradually clearing up now. An intra-Kampuchea dialogue has begun.

Indonesia is of the opinion that an all-embracing political settlement in Kampuchea, achieved through the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from that country and the exercise by its people of the right to self-determination, would contribute to political stability throughout Southeast Asia.

We are still hopeful that the Soviet Union will show good will and make a weighty contribution toward a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea.

How do you explain Prince Sihanouk's unexpected withdrawal from the "tripartite Khmer coalition," opposed to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, following two Paris rounds of his negotiations with Hun Sen, the head of the P.R.K. government? Does this nullify the first results achieved there and the agreement on these leaders' subsequent meetings? How, in your opinion, can such a turn of events effect further progress towards a settlement in Kampuchea?

We maintain permanent contacts with Prince Sihanouk and are conducting a dialogue with Vietnam. The Kam-

puchean settlement process involves occasional surprises. We understand the position of Prince Sihanouk as a Kampuchean patriot and support his efforts. I am convinced that although his statements are contradictory at times, which goes to further complicate the situation, the dialogue aimed at settling the conflict in Kampuchea will continue.

Let's go back to Soviet-Indonesian bilateral relations, if you don't mind. What is your view of their present state and prospects?

Indonesian-Soviet relations have been steadily improving of late. Indonesia is interested in cooperation with the U.S.S.R. based on the principles of respect for one another's sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

Political dialogue between us is being successfully carried on at various levels. A protocol on bilateral consultations has just been signed in Moscow.

In the economic sphere, our relations are still short of the desired standard. I am sure we could do more trade. A week before my visit, a group of Indonesian businessmen had come over here for concrete negotiations with Soviet representatives. We submitted two lists of commodities we would like to export to the U.S.S.R. and are looking forward to Soviet counteroffers. I am not being overly optimistic, but still I think that foundations have been laid for the development of trade and economic cooperation between us.

Frankly, it seems to me that Soviet-Indonesian cultural exchanges are very limited. Don't you think they ought to be livened up with a view to promoting understanding between our two nations?

I seek to encourage cultural contacts, but financial problems are still a drag. I should like Soviet grandmasters to come to Indonesia and teach our chess players, for instance. This is of special interest to me as chairman of the Indonesian chess federation.

And now the last question of a rather particular nature: New Times, once quite popular in Indonesia, has been banned there for quite a long time now. Don't you think that in the current situation where Soviet-Indonesian relations are making steady progress, it would be possible and even desirable to resume the distribution in Indonesia of our weekly published in Russian and eight foreign languages?

Is that how the matter stands? You must ask Mr Semyonov, the Soviet Ambassador in Jakarta, to settle this question with the appropriate Indonesian authorities. He is a very vigorous man....

Interviewer:
ALEXANDER USVATOV

DEFYING PRESSURE

VICTOR GLOBA

Late in January there was an attempt on the life of Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party, in the Peruvian capital of Lima. Fortunately, Prado was not hurt.

The attempt to assassinate the leader of the Peruvian Communists was just one of many episodes attesting to the extremely tense situation in Peru. The government of Alan Garcia's People's Party (APRA) inherited acute socio-economic problems from the previous cabinet, which was made up of members of the bourgeois party Popular Action headed by President Fernando Belaunde Terry. Peru's foreign debt ran to 14 billion dollars. Nearly 700,000 people are completely unemployed and over 3 million are partially unemployed, that is, unemployment affects nearly 70 per cent of the country's able-bodied population. In the five years of Belaunde's presidency, inflation exceeded 3,500 per cent. This is just short of the world record. Real wages fell by almost half.

On coming to power, Alan Garcia said that not more than 10 per cent of receipts from exports would be allocated to the repayment of the foreign debt. This decision was made contrary to the International Monetary Fund's insistence that two thirds of export revenues be allocated to service the debt. The President also declared that his government does not need the IMF to mediate in talks with foreign creditors, and announced draft laws abrogating some of the tax benefits for foreign corporations operating in Peru. Washington became downright angry and withdrew financial aid from the country.

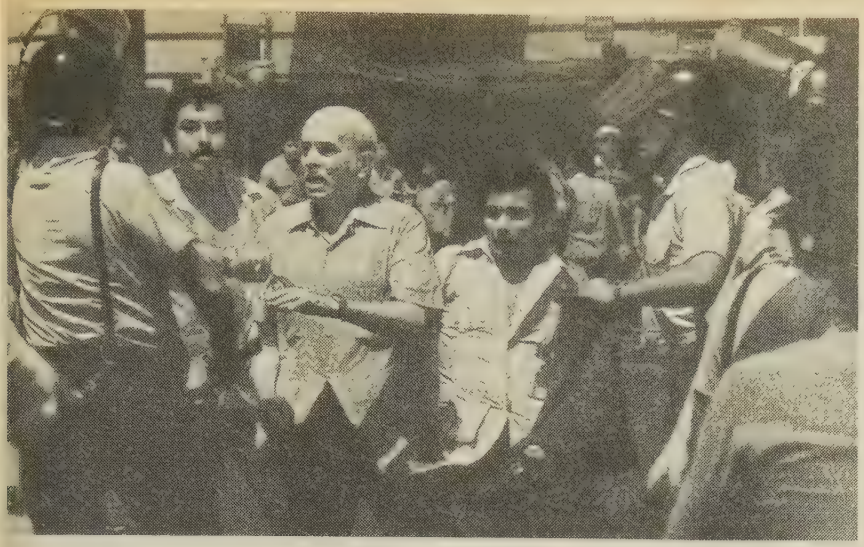
Alan Garcia has warned the people that Peru will face imperialist pressure if it embarks on radical reforms. "I am asking the people if they prefer to be on their knees because of a handful of dollars, or if they are ready to rise and fight the aggression," he declared at a meeting of many thousands in the city of Trujillo.

The overwhelming majority of the population supports the government's policy and its measures in the interests of the people: the increase of minimum wages for millions of working people in both the public and private sectors, the pegging of the prices of staple foods, clothing, various services and medicines, and the lowering of rents.

The government has managed to stem the tide of bankruptcies in Peruvian industry. According to data provided by the National Statistical Institute, agricultural output rose by 4 per cent and industrial output by 16.9 per cent in 1986. Among the industries manufacturing consumer goods, the highest growth rate was registered in the food and textile industries. The inflation rate decreased.

To raise money for payments abroad, the government has suspended the issue of foreign currency by banks, lowered the bank rate and curbed imports. It was

*APRA is the Peruvian ruling party of social-democratic tendency.



Street riots in Lima over the nationalization of banks.
Photo from Cambio 16 (Spain)

important to stop the large-scale outflow of currency. The newspaper Nacional said that over 1,000 million dollars was remitted from Peru to the U.S. in 1986, while Peruvian assets in U.S. banks rose by 750 per cent from 1977 to 1985, according to the U.S. sources.

Nationalization of the financial system is now on the agenda. It will enable the state to accumulate capital for the development of industry and agriculture, especially in remote areas. In October, Alan Garcia signed a law, endorsed by Congress, under which ten large private banks, six financial companies, and 17 insurance companies become state-controlled. The law was approved by the Union of Left Forces and the majority of the Peruvian working people.

Financial tycoons and the political right gave it a hostile reception. Some bankers went so far as to barricade themselves into their offices. Persuasion proved useless, and the government had to have recourse to force. Police units were ordered to storm large banks and compel their owners to obey the law.

Alan Garcia's government has also taken a firm stand with regard to oil tycoons. It has annulled previous contracts with three foreign petroleum companies, and the state-owned joint stock company Petroperu has established strict control over them. Making huge profits, specifically as a result of tax exemption, those companies had abundant opportunities to prospect on the Pacific shelf and in the Amazon jungle. The contracts stipulated that part of the profits be spent on prospecting. But the oil tycoons preferred to lodge all the profits in their own accounts.

A government decree authorizes the appropriate ministries to negotiate new contracts with foreign companies, while Peru has decided not to resume its contract with a subsidiary of the U.S. Belco Petroleum. A financial investigation showed that it had appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars through tax evasion. When the Peruvian government insisted on restitution, the corporation dismissed many workers and closed 70 per cent of oil wells, which has led to a drastic fall in petroleum output in Peru. The Peruvian authorities then decided that the U.S.-owned oil fields should go to Petroperu.

The ultras and drug traffic

Acts of terrorism perpetrated by extremist groups work against political stability in Peru. The extremist organization Sendero Luminoso, which was formed in the late sixties, is the most violent such group. The Sendero Luminoso proclaimed itself the "vanguard of the world revolution." It is waging an armed struggle against the central government and terrorizes those who support it. The Peruvian magazine Equis reports that since May 1980, when Sendero Luminoso launched its undeclared war on the government, it has taken a toll of over 10,000 lives.

Terrorists often raid embassies, banks, hotels and trading centres to loot and take hostages. Not infrequently Sendero Luminoso resorts to terror against individuals. They brutally murder policemen and military who conduct operations to curtail terrorist activities. More than 130 armed terrorist operations were perpetrated in Lima in the space of a year. The government had to declare a state of emergency in the departments where the Sendero Luminoso was most rampant.

The illicit production of drugs, chiefly cocaine, and drug trafficking pose an acute problem for Peru, as they do for other Latin American countries. Soon after coming to office, the APRA government announced plans for the forming of task police units to combat these crimes. "The effort to combat the drug trade will be sustained, decisively and firmly. We will apprehend those who organize and finance the mafia," the then Minister of the Interior, Abel Salinas, said in Congress.

The armed forces have dealt numerous blows at multinational gangs of smugglers linked with drug producers in the tropical forests in the Amazon basin. Runways and helicopter pads, and laboratories for drug production have been destroyed by bombing and ground-based operations.

Standing firm

The Peruvian government's foreign policy is based on non-alignment and Latin American integration. Peru is active in the Andean Group, which also includes Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. Alan Garcia's government favours the reduction of expenditures on armaments in Latin America. It is also calling for restrictions on the export of profits by transnational corporations and stripping foreign investors of privileges. The present Peruvian president has set a course of restricting the operation of foreign companies and giving priority to the development of those branches of the economy that promote economic independence.

Peruvian Foreign Minister Alan Wagner has said more than once that Peru will maintain relations with all countries "on the basis of mutual respect, equality and cooperation."

He observed in particular that the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Peru established 18 years ago are developing successfully. Cooperation has been established in fisheries, as well as in the cultural and scientific areas.

Peru advocates a peaceful settlement of the conflict situation in Central America and is a member of the Contadora support group. Lima has declared its firm support for Nicaragua. "If the U.S. invades Nicaragua, with which we have fraternal relations, we shall immediately sever relations with the aggressor," Alan Garcia said. He condemned Washington's military and financial aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

To punish Peru for its independent stand, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury James Baker has struck it off the list of states with priority claims on U.S. credits. Pressure on Lima continues through diplomatic channels. But the Peruvian leaders are standing firm in their foreign policy principles. ■

PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS MAKE A START

The test of strength in Iowa ● Divisions in the Republican Party ● A race without front-runners.

The elephant and the donkey - symbols of the Republican and Democratic parties, respectively - have started on a marathon race along a tortuous course. It has become usual in the last few years to begin the race in Iowa - this year on February 8. American politics before a presidential election can be compared to a fair where the candidates are offered to the public, or to a stadium where, after the exhausting elimination trials, some of the audience stay to applaude the winner, while the rest leave in disappointment till the next marathon.

Who are the candidates?

Who is eligible for the office of President of the United States? Under the American Constitution, only a native-born U.S. citizen who has attained the age of 35 and been resident in the United States for 14 years can run for the White House.

The Constitution does not lay down the electoral procedure. The tradition has evolved gradually. When the political parties were founded, each selected candidates from among its members in Congress. However, this practice vëolûted the principle of the separation of executive and legislative power.

Later, candidates were elected at national party conventions. This system was effective till 1912. It was then that candidates first tried to appeal to the public in advance to ensure the nomination of delegates who would support them at the party conventions. Primaries were held for the selection of delegates who promised to support "their" candidates. In some states, such as Iowa, party caucuses are convened. At such meetings delegates make their preferences known.

Thirteen contenders - seven Democrats and six Republicans - have joined the contest, each so far in his own camp. The Republican aspirants include Vice-President George Bush, Republican minority leader in the Senate Robert Dole, former governor of Delaware Pierre du Pont, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Representative Jack Kemp, and television preacher Pat Robertson. The Democratic contenders include former governor of Arizona Bruce Babbitt, Jesse Jackson, the black rights movement leader, governor of Massachusetts Michael Dukakis, Representative Richard Gephardt, Senators Albert Gore and Paul Simon, and former Senator Gary Hart.

At present, neither camp has a cléar front-runner, a really outstanding personality. Both political analysts and the electorate are waiting in vain for a definite programme. The Democratic presidential hopefuls have been irreverently labelled the "seven dwarfs" by American journalists. In a future issue we plan to carry a collective portrait of the Democratic Party in the mid-1980s. For the moment, therefore, I shall confine my attention to the Republican six.

Vice-President George Bush, 63, was born in Greenwich, a suburb of New York, into a wealthy family. A graduate of Yale University, he served as a flier in the second world war. He has a long record of political activity: Congressman, chairman of the national committee of the Republican Party, Ambassador to China, and Director of the CiA. One of his chief merits now, he claims, is his devotion to President Reagan and his policy. Bush says he is satisfied with the present situation of the United States.

Robert Dole, 64, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate, is the son of a confectionery owner in Russell, Kansas, and a graduate of Washburn University, Topeka. He was seriously wounded in the second world war. A self-made politician whose election slogan is "I'm one of you," Robert Dole says he is worried about the deficits, foreign competition, and his own financial future. He is cautious in his statements on foreign policy issues and has given qualified backing to the Soviet-American INF treaty.

It is hard to find serious differences in the political views of these two principal Republican contenders. The struggle between them is basically a clash of personalities. Both social origin and education feature in this. They are constantly criticizing each other. Dole slangs Bush for his part in the White House's decisions in connection with Irangate, while Bush takes Dole to task for his alleged violations of financial legislation.

George Bush and Robert Dole represent the pragmatic wing of the Republican Party, its establishment, that moderate section of the party that Reagan had to subdue in order to win. As for Kemp, Robertson and du Pont, they are "Reagan Republicans," who are often called "dreamers," the "ideological," ultra-right wing of the party.

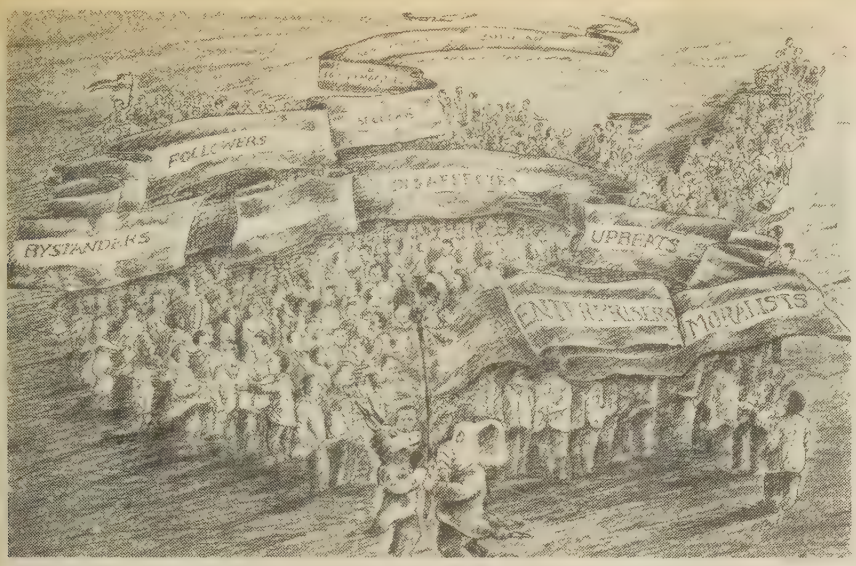
What do the rightists stand for? Apart from anti-communism, their election proposals on almost all issues have a fragmentary character.

Kemp has his own ideas in the economic sphere. He favours unlimited economic growth and drastic tax reductions, and backs the law on "the right to work." In "compensation" for his views, which are palatable to far from all supporters of the "ideological" wing, he offers primitive anti-communism and castigates any agreement with Moscow.

Du Pont advocates the gradual abolition of subsidies to farmers. He says all those who receive benefits must be compelled to work.

TV preacher Robertson is campaigning for "a return to the faith of our fathers and the traditional values of family life." To save the social security programmes, as the magazine New Republic put it, Robertson tells Americans that "we must outlaw abortion and give birth to more taxpayers." Both du Pont and Robertson disapprove of the expanding American-Soviet dialogue.

Alexander Haig has not yet stated his views loudly. He quietly praises Reagan



An artist's impressions of the election campaign in the United States.
From the U.S. News and World Report

for restoring to Americans their national pride and their country's prestige and criticises him for his economic policy and deficits.

As for the alignment of forces in the Republican Party, opinion polls show that 60 to 65 per cent of its members belong to the moderate mainstream, while 35 to 40 per cent gravitate towards the "ideological" wing.

The division became apparent at the Michigan party caucus late in January, where the struggle developed between supporters of Bush, Robertson and Kemp. Bush won by about 57 per cent of the vote. But the followers of Robertson, who had taken control of the local party leadership, disputed the results and held their own meetings in a number of constituencies.

The division between the establishment and "right-wing activists," the shifting of a large proportion of the party to the political centre is, in my view, a serious consequence of the Reagan administration's policies. The ultra-right, who came to power eight years ago, having acquired respectability in the eyes of the electorate, now seem to have lost it. Most of their representatives left the administration as it began to shift its policy towards the centre. In fact, Reagan's reign turned into the self-exposure of the ultra-right. For this reason, I feel, the "ideological" candidate has little, if any, chance of victory in the election.

At any price

Thomas Hart, mayor of Davenport, Iowa, told me a year ago that election campaigning is never over in the United States. Having been elected to Congress or any other office, a politician immediately begins to prepare for the struggle to retain his seat or win a new one in the political hierarchy. His preoccupation with this struggle often prevents him from carrying out his election promises.

According to a recent poll conducted by the research service of the Library of Congress, only 53.58 per cent of those eligible to do so voted in the presidential elections between 1969 and 1986. In this respect the United States holds 28th place in the Western world. In South Carolina, of the 513 registered voters questioned in a sociological survey three months before the primary elections and meetings, 44 per cent could not name one presidential hopeful.

Does this mean indifference to the country's destiny? I would not say so. Americans are super-patriotic. It is probably rather a result of long-established distrust of the ability of politicians to fulfil their promises. As for politicians, they try to win the votes of their compatriots at any price.

Supporters are won over by costly TV advertising and connections with big shots who are able and willing to donate a certain sum to a candidate's election campaign. Laws were adopted in 1974 and 1976 to prevent abuses in this respect. They limited individual and collective donations and set a ceiling for the use of federal funds by candidates for their election campaigns.

What is the financial position of the present contenders? By January 1 of this year, George Bush had collected five and a half million dollars for his campaign. Robert Dole and Michael Dukakis have collected two million dollars each. Under the 1976 law, private donations of a minimum of 100,000 dollars each can be made to the election fund of a candidate in no less than 20 states (the maximum sum is 22 million dollars). In this case a candidate has the right to funds from the treasury equal to the donations he has collected.

By the time of the start in Iowa the main contenders had collected the sums permitted by the law.

Why is it so important to win in Iowa? Success there attracts enough media attention to project a candidate as a possible, perhaps even a certain, winner. James Carter "began" his career as future president in Iowa. Incidentally, George Bush, as a lame presidential candidate in 1980, also joined the race in Iowa. Success in Iowa raises hopes of success in the February 16 primary in New Hampshire.

The people of Iowa, as I saw for myself during a visit to the state, are very critical of the present administration, blaming it for major miscalculations in agricultural policy and the ruining of many farmers. George Bush, who stresses his support for President Reagan's policy on all issues, therefore found his Iowa campaign hard going. Long before February 8, Bush was travelling round the state with a 14-car motorcade, making speeches and shaking hands. Senator Dole travelled with a considerably smaller cortege of six cars. Nevertheless, he emerged the winner. The Democrat winner was Richard Gephardt.

The next important landmark is the New Hampshire primary on February 16. The record of the last 30 years shows that the candidate who wins in New Hampshire becomes President. On March 8, party caucuses and primaries will be held in 20 states. The Democrats gather for their convention in Atlanta on July 18-21 and the Republicans meet in New Orleans on August 15-18. The conventions elect the candidates. The presidential election is to take place on November 8.

Meanwhile, the election battles continue. One candidate has been accused of matrimonial infidelity, another of plagiarism. Many predictions as to the outcome have been made. In the old days, in Las Vegas, people even betted on candidates. This is now officially banned in the United States. But bookmakers in London have successfully carried on the practice. The Americans have heard the candidates accuse each other of various sins. However, they have not yet heard any of them advance a programme of action.

America, which seems to have begun to believe in itself again under President Reagan, is coming to realize that its potential is limited and its dependence on the surrounding world considerable. Will any of the present contenders be able to analyze and understand the complex processes at work in the United States and the world? Much depends on the answer to this question.

GALINA SIDOROVA

War of attrition: no end in sight?

YURI SEDOV

Black flags stream mournfully in the wind that sweeps the streets of Baghdad. They are raised in memory of fathers, brothers and sons killed in action. Anti-aircraft guns top the roofs of government offices and the Presidential Palace. They can be seen on the bridges over the Tigris River. Ramparts camouflage ground-to-air missile launchers in the streets where sometimes armed soldiers outnumber civilians.

Mournful black flags also fly in memory of the war dead in Iran. The wails of hired mourners here are, however, drowned by the shrill cries of zealots. Some Iranians are fearful of being drafted, but most go to the front inspired to give their lives for Islam. The newspapers carry stories like this one:

"...A wounded Iranian soldier was taken to hospital. 'Together with my brethren in faith,' he cried, 'I was fighting in a battle when a bullet hit me. As I passed out I saw angels come down from heaven to take those who fought next to me. None of the angels came for me. I realized that I was still alive. It is not from pain that I am crying now, it is because I cannot join my comrades, the shahids' (who have fallen for the faith - Y.S.)."

"...A revolutionary guard who lost both his legs and arms in action wants to go back to the front. He says: I can be useful. I can be used to clear mine fields.'"

Behind the conflict

The Iran-Iraq war is the result of a complex of internal and external causes whose significance has varied at different stages of the conflict. Among them are the intrigues of imperialist circles, deep-rooted territorial disputes, acute social and economic problems, and personal quarrels between the leaders of the two countries. Religious and nationalist differences have played a prominent part.

Imperialist powers have done a great deal to turn the long-running Iran-Iraq disputes into a full-scale armed conflict. Shortly before hostilities began, the media in the United States and Western Europe started discussing the "deadly threat" to the Islamic revolution from Iraq and from Iran to Iraq. Le Quotidien de Paris goaded the two countries on, claiming that the emotional and bloodthirsty Shiite faith professed by the Ayatollah Khomeini threatened the leaders in Baghdad. The Western media played up the territorial claims. The U.S. press commented that the United States would not oppose Iraqi claims to the Shatt al-Arab waterway or the possible formation of the Republic of Arabistan on the territory of the Iranian province of Khuzistan.

A teen-age Iranian soldier.

But still, the territorial claims are a mere pretext for the war. Its true causes are rooted in political, religious, and nationalist differences between the two countries vying for power in the region. Iran's political ambitions are fueled by Pan-Islamic ideas, and in Iraq, they are part of the nationalist ideology.

The ruling clergy in Iran are quite candid about their great-power aspirations, and, having proclaimed the export of the "Islamic revolution" as their principal slogan, they have laid claim to leadership throughout the Muslim world. The Iranian leaders are saying that the "Islamic revolution" will inevitably spread beyond the national borders of Iran and prevail in the rest of the Muslim world. In the words of the Ayatollah Khomeini, "Islam is a sacred trust from God to ourselves and the Iranian nation must grow in power and revolution until it has vouchsafed Islam to the entire world."

Unlike Iran, where the clergy have traditionally enjoyed an autonomy that gave them cohesion and economic independence of the authorities, Iraq's clergy have always been weak and have had to take a back seat. The secular state in Iraq grew stronger after the Baath Party assumed power. Its manifesto excludes the possibility of setting up a theocratic government based on Islam as it separates religion from state and commits the nation to the Pan-Arabic doctrine which confronts the Pan-Islamic one and effectively proscribes it.

Theocrats versus nationalists

Following the victory of the Iranian revolution, the incompatibility of its Islam-based development pattern with the nationalism of Arab regimes became perfectly obvious. Any Arab government that disestablished Islam, openly or covertly, immediately became an "enemy of the Islamic revolution." Iraq, Iran's closest neighbour, was the first country to acquire that label.

According to Iran, Arab nationalism in general, and "Baath Socialism" in particular, constitute a barrier in the way of Pan-Islamic ideas, and a curse inflicted upon the Arabs for their "deviation from the true path." Khomeini's associates view the position of the Baath Party on Islam as a heresy. They believe that religion cannot be separated from state and insist on Islamic unity, rather than the Arab unity advocated by the Baath Party.

This is the essence of the ideological differences between the Iranian and Iraqi models of development. Iraq believes that it is in the vanguard of Arab nationalism, which seeks to attain the unity and independence of the Arab nation through the secular power. Iran, on the other hand, is addressing Islamic slogans to the whole world in a bid to assume the role of principal patron of Pan-Islamic ideas on the international scene at large and in the Arab world. Pan-Islamism proclaims political unity of all the Muslim peoples under the aegis of Shariat. The ruling Iranian clergy have espoused the idea of a united Arab nation and believe that Imam Khomeini is the leader of the Iranians and all other Muslim nations. According to the Canadian Professor of Political science Tareq Ismail the Iran-Iraq conflict represents a clash of two diametrically opposed ideologies. Iraq is pursuing a secular and nationalist ideology, while Iran relies on a messianic Pan-Islamic doctrine. Addressing the Iraqi people, Khomeini called on them to rebel against the "infidels of the Baath regime" and join the "Iranian nation and other Muslims to defend Islam and commit the infidels and traitors to hell."

Iranian agents backed that call with a large-scale campaign of instigation among the Iraqi Shiite community, which accounts for 60 per cent of the population despite the fact that the levers of power are in the hands of the Sunnite minority.

Iraq counted on a swift military victory that would demonstrate that the theocratic model of development is not viable and thereby deprive the Shiite separatists at home of outside support. A swift military victory was to have undermined the Iranian government as a regional power centre and improve Baghdad's prestige and standing in the Arab world.

While Teheran counted on Iraqi Shiites, Baghdad relied on the nationalist sentiments of the Arabs who account for the majority of the population of Iran's border province of Khuzistan. Iraq calls it Arabistan because, it claims, in the Middle Ages the province was part of the Arab Caliphate. The Iraqis view Khuzistan as an "Arab land."

Baghdad believed that as soon as "fraternal" Arab troops entered Iran, the Arabs of Khuzistan would join them. They counted on Arab nationalism and wanted to exploit the historical differences between the Arabs and the Persians. The war is called the "Kadisia Saddam" in Iraq, after the place where in the year 637 the Arabs routed the Persians.

No fifth columns

It would appear to be quite wrong to trace the essential causes of the Iran-Iraq conflict to differences between the secular and religious world views, or the disputes between the Shiites and Sunnites, as the Western press often does. The rivalry of two regional powers is at the heart of the conflict. That their ideologies are incompatible aggravates the conflict and serves as a means of mobilizing the masses on either side and eroding the other side from within.

The social aspects of the Iranian revolution in its initial stages caused a measure of concern in Iraq and other Arab countries. Having mobilized a broad cross-section of society, the revolution involved the clergy, peasants, farmers, industrial workers, the lower middle class, and intellectuals unlike many other Arab nations where power changed hands as a result of coups.

Forces with a vested interest in the Iran-Iraq conflict, especially the United States, decided to take advantage of that sentiment so as to check the trend, current in the so-called conservative Arab states, towards viewing the Iranian revolution as a way of getting rid of a government too closely associated with the West. J. Bill of the magazine Foreign Affairs noted that trend and commented that, as far as ordinary Muslims were concerned, the victory of the Iranian revolution signified a victory of the people over a corrupt regime backed by the United States.

In a bid to play down the socio-political implications of the revolutionary events in Iran and neutralize the revolutionary influence on the conservative Arab states, the Western media have been trying to alarm the leaders of these countries with the threat of an "epidemic of religious fanaticism." The Iranian revolution has always been described as a Shiite revolution in the West, not least because most Arab leaders are Sunnite Muslims. The idea is to represent the historical differences between the Shiites and Sunnites as the most profound division in the Muslim world and thereby create a barrier in the way of anti-imperialist ideas and aggravate relations between various Muslim nations.

Iraqi soldiers at the front line.

The United States has been exploiting the idea of a fundamentalist threat from within and without alike to keep up with the spread of separatist tendencies among the Shiites in the Gulf states, and in particular, in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

In November, 1979, Sunnite extremists took over the Great Mosque in Mecca and accused the Saudi monarchy of corruption and failure to honour its preordained guardianship of the holy places. The incident sparked off unrest among the 400 thousand Shiites in the Eastern province. Until then the Saudi Shiites had been the target of various forms of discrimination.

Teheran. Troops wearing gas masks on parade.

Photos from Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report

Following the unrest in the Eastern province the Saudi authorities adopted the policy of bringing the two communities closer together, and invested in the province to raise the standard of living.

The policy of pacifying the Shiites was aimed at neutralizing their disaffection at home, and at the same time normalizing relations with the Shiites in power in Iran, which were perceptibly aggravated following the start of the Iran-Iraq war and the deterioration of the Gulf situation.

In the face of Saudi moderation Iran assumed a radical stance and laid claim to the holy shrines in Mecca and Medina. The Saudis have always been considered the guardians of the shrines, which has given them considerable influence and brought them substantial profits.

Relations between Iran and Kuwait have been aggravated considerably by the financial support extended by Kuwait to Iraq. Iran now considers Kuwait to be its enemy number two. In the opinion of Le Monde Diplomatique, the Kuwaitis are at present more concerned about their domestic situation than about the external threat. There is a growing rift between the Sunnite majority and the Shiite minority, which accounts for 200 thousand of the country's population of 1.7 million.

There has been a series of alarming developments lately. The spate of bomb attacks and assassination attempts in the country which began in 1983 has finally forced the government to introduce a state of emergency. In the past acts of terror were attributed to foreign Shiites, but according to Western reports they are now believed to be the work of Kuwaiti Shiites of Iranian descent.

The course of the Iran-Iraq war has shown that the hopes of the warring nations for their religious and nationalist causes have failed to materialize. Both the Iraqi Shiites and Iranian Arabs have remained loyal to their governments, although opposition trends have grown stronger among them.

"The religious factor"

The influence of the Iranian revolution could have been greater, but the enthusiasm it has aroused has largely been confined to the Iranians, rather than extending to Muslims in other countries. The revolution itself has gradually assumed a repulsive aspect. According to The Economist, "The prospect of an Iranian victory, followed by the imposition of an Iranian-sponsored Islamic republic led by turbaned mullahs, appals Iraqis of both the Sunni and the Shia forms of Islam. It is not just Iraq's government that would go if Iran won; Iraqi society would be overturned as well." Paradoxically enough, the Iranian revolution, having reawakened the self-awareness of both Sunnite and Shiite Arabs, has also exacerbated the confrontation between the Arabs and Persians.

The ruling Baath Party of Iraq has been following a more flexible religious policy. As the conflict continued to worsen, Baghdad took progressively stronger action to neutralize the Shiite opposition. On the other hand, the Iraqi government has begun to put greater emphasis on its commitment to the principles and spirit of Islam. More mosques have been built or reconstructed and measures have been taken to give pilgrims greater access to the holy shrines of Iraq. The government's measures to improve the standard of living of the Shiite community have been widely advertised.

At the same time, Baghdad has been trying hard to make Islam serve the interests of Arab nationalism, which is the corner stone of the Baath manifesto. The Iraqi leaders have been speaking of the important part played by the Arabs in promulgating Islam. They are saying that the Arabs were chosen by Allah, who "gave them national traits that enable them to carry the banner of Islam to all parts of the world." That is why "Allah elected Mohammad as his prophet and gave men of faith the Koran in the Arabic language." The implication is that any hostility shown to the Arabs damages the interests of Islam.

As a result, the Iraqi Shiites failed to support the Islamic slogans urged upon them by Iran. Iraqi nationalism prevailed over Shiite solidarity. The long-running hostility between the Arabs and Persians proved stronger than religious allegiance.

As far as the Arabs of Khuzistan in Iran are concerned, the enthusiasm that swept the entire nation following the "Islamic revolution" and the downfall of the hateful regime of the Shah put the religious sentiments of the Shiite community there above their ethnical commitments.

Iran relies on the religious factor not only to support its intransigent stand on the war. The Iranian leaders say that there is no way of ending the war now, as this would run counter to the laws of Islam, and in particular, the Koran's teaching that a war cannot be stopped until the aggressor has been punished and the damage inflicted by it, compensated for. The government in Teheran is aware that an Iraqi victory or an inconclusive outcome of the conflict would knock the bottom out of its foreign policy and put paid to the idea of exporting the "Islamic revolution." On the other hand, a clear victory by Iran would be seen as a confirmation of its lofty goals.

The reactionary clergy within the country regard the religious fervour fueled by the war as an instrument in strengthening their own power. The reasons for the indomitable belligerency of the regime lie largely in the peculiar internal situation in Iran. Those in power deliberately create crises in order to hold onto their positions in the face of social and economic problems. The speaker of the Iranian Parliament Hashemi Rafsandjani is on record as saying: "If we accepted a truce we would accept the downfall of our regime." ■

SCIENCE AND ETHICS

Academician NIKITA MOISEYEV

Sometimes I envy the ancient Greeks who believed that they lived in an integral world, and did not seek to control it. Their world was ruled by beautiful gods who were well-disposed to men and often mixed with them on equal terms. For centuries well-balanced ancient Greek culture stimulated the progress of civilization and no other mythology meant more to Christianity than that of ancient Greece, which pictured the earth, cosmos and man as an integral whole.

From the apple of discord to the law of gravity

In the Middle Ages, the rigid formulation of ideas into an established canon of beliefs impeded the development of European culture, which all but fossilized. The Renaissance, the revival of the ideals of antiquity, which seemed to have had sunk into oblivion never to return, proved that links with them had never been broken. The new philosophy brought with it a breakthrough in science in the age of Newton, Copernicus and Galileo. However, this revolution in traditional thinking also brought inevitable losses which, in their turn, combined to produce a new vision of the world.

After Copernicus had worked out his heliocentric system in which the planets revolved round the sun, the Ptolemaic tables (which even today can be used to determine the exact positions of planets and luminaries at any moment past or future) fell out of use. Only a century later did Kepler discover new laws of celestial mechanics.

However, the rationalistic approach to deciphering the mysteries of nature had, as a concomitant, the paradoxical vision of the world formulated by Laplace, which goes approximately as follows: "An empty Universe, with heavenly bodies in motion and man existing in accordance with his own laws." Asked by Napoleon, who thought highly of his work, whether he had reserved a place for God in his system, Laplace replied: "Sire, I have no use for this hypothesis." The entire subsequent record of scientific progress has corroborated his approach: if a hypothesis can be dispensed with, it must be abandoned.

Vernadsky's cosmism

At the end of the last century there emerged a trend in science known as "Russian cosmism," which had a formative influence on many future outstanding Russian scientists, Vernadsky and Tsiolkovsky in particular. Cosmism is a school of thought according to which man and nature are one, and thought is a phenomenon as material as planets, outer space and life on earth. Vernadsky's teaching on the noosphere marked a new step in the development of the scientific vision of the world. By the noosphere he meant a qualitatively new state of the biosphere, with mankind, equipped with the knowledge of the principles that underlie universal development, creating a new organizational social structure scientifically correlated with the laws of evolution and social progress. Vernadsky started to build a bridge from the age of spontaneous development to the age of development under intelligent control. Science resumed its concept of the fundamental integrality of the earth, man and the cosmos.

According to Vernadsky, any theory in the field of natural science had to be founded on a specific empirical genralization. For Vernadsky himself, this was the emergence of life on earth, which he regarded as a donné that required no explanation. Today astrophysics and physics have accumulated a sufficient body of knowledge about the development of the Universe for us to be able to conclude that we inhabit a colossal system which is never in equilibrium but is continuously evolving by virtue of a constant exchange of energy and matter between its costituents. Far from all the processes described have so far been understood; nevertheless we know that matter always tends towards greater complexity. This is an empirical fact. If we work on the assumption that life is a cosmic phase in the development of nature, then life on earth emerged as a result of the increasing complexity of molecular structure. The phenomenon of living matter's optical activity, discovered simultaneously by Louis Pasteur and Pierre Curie, consists in living matter polarizing light. Analyses of cosmic matter have revealed that in

outer space there is no optically active matter - i.e., no living matter or matter born thereof. To me, this is the most convincing argument in favour of the terrestrial origin of life on earth.

Our planet is slightly over four billion years old, and life emerged on it some 3.8-3.9 million years ago. The fact that the earth and life on it developed almost simultaneously gives us grounds for speaking of a qualitatively new organization of matter. Vernadsky's hypothesis comes down to the assumption that the transition to the age of the noosphere will be a switch to an entirely new terrestrial state with the earth 's further development determined by collective reason and joint efforts by society. Unless this happens, mankind will degenerate. We must make such a leap, otherwise human society will cease to develop.

Scientists will be in doubt for too long

By now science has come to realise how extremely precarious the world we live in is. It has already been established what level of discharge of soot into the atmosphere is lethal to mankind. The loss of the genetic diversity of living things is now a danger as real as that of the irreversible pollution of the ocean. People are already capable of destroying civilization even without going to the lengths of armed conflict. That science has come to realize this is a signal achievement. But all of us must be aware of it. The chief purpose of science, as I see it, is to draw a hypothetical picture of the development of matter (i.e. of the material world), and develop the theory of integrality. Mankind, regarded in antiquity a mere constituent element of nature, has become the determining factor in its existence. While in the Newtonian scheme of things man was a mere onlooker, today he is an active participant in progress and, as such, must find a way looking at himself from the outside, evaluating his actions, and predicting his future.

In its modern form, the notion of man as an integral component of nature presupposes our common responsibility to ourselves, the earth, and the Universe. Therefore, human responsibility is now an issue every bit as important as human rights - something our foreign colleagues are, unfortunately, not always aware of.

I have just returned from an international conference on human rights and European security, where I spoke on the concept of ecological imperatives. At our present technological level, just one careless step could prove fatal to civilization and all life on earth; hence the need for political and moral imperatives. Disputable international issues can now be resolved solely on the basis of the new morality which has taken shape in the new ecological situation. Therefore, I consider the following to be the three most important missions of science.

First. Science must explain, in lucid terms, mankind's responsibility today. It is no longer enough to bring people to the door of the truth - this door must be forced ajar or, better still, flung wide open. Creating new means towards this end is the job of the natural and social sciences alike.

Second. Scientific knowledge must be brought within everyone's reach. Ecological, moral and political imperatives must become common knowledge.

The third mission is linked with the political responsibility of science. Science must provide the criteria for the permissibility of concrete political actions.

In general, science, like a solicitous nurse, must keep mankind from wrongdoing. This brings us to the question of scientific ethics. As a member of the International Life Institute I share the organization's view that bans ought to be imposed not on specific research trends, but on the publication and use of dangerous technologies. This should be done for ethical reasons rather than for fear of legal punishment.

Can scientists replace politicians? I do not think scientists should be entrusted with the reins of government, if only for the reason that their doubts would prevent them taking prompt and decisive action. This is all the more so now that the time for resolution has come. The late Academician Mikhail Lavrentiev's suggestion that a special committee of scientists commanding absolute trust and independent of state and scientific organizations be set up under government auspices seems the most acceptable to me. Decision-making should remain the prerogative of politicians who ought, however, to be fully aware of the consequences their decisions could entail. I believe this would play a positive role in international affairs.

Neanderthal man at Oxford?

At one time I was busy, along with other experts, constructing a model of the nuclear winter. Besides the consequences of nuclear war, I was interested in the possibility of a compromise. It stands to reason that a mutually acceptable decision can be arrived at, given even the least ambitious aspiration in common, which, as I saw it, was to minimize the danger of nuclear war. I came to the conclusion that although the two nuclear powers were effectively poles apart on the issues of war and peace, they could nonetheless effect a compromise. In other words, a mutually beneficial compromise making further social progress possible remained a realistic proposition. This is the cornerstone of the new thinking, a prerequisite for the radical restructuring of relations, which calls for the replacement of antagonism and rivalry with compromise and cooperation. The results will be a new way of life, a new morality and a new scale of values.

Has the human history ever witnessed situations calling for a similar restructuring before? Yes, it has. Archeologists tell us of the "hunter's crisis" - the extinction of mammoths and large hoofed animals, when pre-historic men had to take joint action, to change over to crop farming and cattle breeding in order to survive. It cost mankind nine tenths of its population to emerge from the crisis. Only those who had joined hands in the face of adversity managed to survive.

Another such episode was the transition from the herd to the community. Anthropologists can trace today the incredibly rapid development of man, and the striking evolution of his brain structure. It took the Australopithecus about two and a half million years to become Neanderthal man, whereupon evolution came to a standstill. Modern man does not differ much from the last Neanderthal men or the first Cromagnons. A British professor once said at a lecture that a Neanderthal man would be perfectly capable of completing a course at Oxford. Whether it was a compliment to primitive man's mental faculties or a dig at the University is anybody's guess, and doesn't much matter. What matters is that human history has already known radical changes in ways of life, for which people paid a heavy price. Today we build space bridges and solve complex technical problems, but must effect a compromise again, as our remote ancestors did, because historical progress presupposes not only the struggle of opposites, but also compromises between opposites. Realizing this will help us survive without forfeiting nine tenths of our kind.

Recorded by Olga PAPKOVA

NO TO ANONYMOUS LETTERS

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that anonymous letters are no longer to be examined. This is a long-awaited law and a cause for rejoicing. For many years, the press and the public have waged a vigorous campaign for it. It must be admitted, however, that our philippics changed little if anything at all. The slanderers persisted in their ways, and the officials registered all the letters and gave them the green light. Society's losses from such ill-advised tolerance are inestimable.

Only recently it seemed that anonymous letters, that offspring of obscurantism, would melt away in the first rays of glasnost. In late 1985 anonymous slander was made a punishable offence. But undeterred, the slanderers ran amuck. The more so in that the law is very rarely invoked. As we were told at the Ministry of Justice, only 35 offenders have been convicted, a monthly rate of 1.3 at most.

What are anonymous letters? Mere scraps of paper which some people have turned - to their own advantage - into a sort of touchstone for the so-called "attentive and considerate attitude to the population's signals and letters." A revealing word "signal," something referring more to machinery than to human relations. Just that: the bureaucratic machine needs signals and not requests or cries of despair, which are effectively spokes in its wheels. Anonymous letters are convenient to deal with - the cogs and gears of the machine can engage or disengage at will and the unknown author, who acts behind the scene, who somehow does not exist, is no hindrance.

Now the situation has changed radically. Any executive in government, Party and public bodies can throw all anonymous letters into the wastepaper basket. He is entitled to do so.

As a career journalist I have had considerable dealings with the problem of "anonymous" letters. In the last four years alone seven of my articles devoted to anonymous letters and denunciations - which, it is my profound conviction, are essentially the same thing - have been published in Literaturnaya Gazeta. But, though my colleagues congratulate me on the new law, I still have questions to ask myself.

For there is a category of people who will say that the ban impinges on their democratic rights. These are honest but timid persons who are afraid they will have to pay for it if they come out openly in criticism of their superiors. To speak frankly, their apprehensions are not without grounds. Those who clamp down on criticism are becoming increasingly aggressive, and we cannot expect everybody to be courageous.

So, how should we treat the seekers after the truth who prefer to remain incognito? For decades we made advances to them, euphemistically calling all

Two legal acts published recently attracted considerable public attention: the decree under which anonymous letters will no longer be considered by state and public bodies, and the decision to close down the Beriozka shops in the near future and reorganize trade where Vneshposyltorg cheques are accepted in payment. Both decrees are directly aimed at improving the moral climate. Our observers comment.

A FAREWELL TO BERIOZKAS

The reaction in the mail to the recent decision to close down the Beriozka shops in the near future was extremely varied. The problem had already been discussed in the mass media. Let me recapitulate briefly.

Soviet citizens who spend long tours of duty abroad receive Vneshposyltorg cheques which can be used in Soviet special Beriozka shops to buy imported and Soviet-made goods usually in short supply elsewhere.

This added another dimension to the black economy. Some of those possessing such cheques would sell them on the black market. The practice became rather widespread. Moreover, in the shops themselves there were many abuses. But it is not the criminal but the moral aspect that matters most. Is it fair, morally just, for such a privilege to be brought in from abroad?

Readers of the press at the moment have witnessed a burst of emotion and a polarization of views. The letters coming in reflected public feeling. The views expressed were irreconcilable. Some said the Beriozka shops must be closed, while others insisted that this should not happen under any circumstances!

Let us look at the two diametrically opposite views.

First, those who defend the existence of Beriozka shops. The shops are state-owned, not private. When they were originally opened and the use of Vneshposyltorg certificates were accepted in payment, the government was guided by motives of profit. The foreign currency earned by Soviet citizens abroad went into the state's coffers and strengthened its position. In return, as promised, they received the right to buy goods in short supply in shops that sold imported goods and top-quality articles. "Is there anything criminal about that?" ask the supporters of Beriozka shops?

As far as the economic aspect goes, I was told that the money Beriozka shops earned for the state was only a fraction of one per cent of the annual volume of our exports.

The opponents of the existing system of selling goods for Beriozka cheques view the issue from the moral point of view.

anonymous letters "unsigned." To write on the subject was like being between the devil and the deep sea. Indeed, you had to condemn the libeller and give a helping hand to the good but timid. On the one hand, we resolutely condemned, while on the other, we enthusiastically supported. This approach led the problem into an impasse. There are many social factors to account for it, as well as profound attachment to anonymous letters on the part of the above-mentioned seekers after the truth, for whom it became as habitual as salt in their soup. And around anonymous letters we newsmen created the halo of a weapon of protest, an SOS.

Now, having had my share of doubts, I ask myself: can an anonymous letter help where many open complaints are powerless? It is self-delusion to expect a humane and sympathetic attitude from administrators whom you will not even trust with your name.

And so, the new law has been adopted. Today, with the struggle for glasnost and democratization in our country, it simply could not have been otherwise, for anonymous letters and glasnost are incompatible.

LIDIYA GRAFOVA

Why, they ask, should some people have better opportunities to acquire top-quality goods than others? In a socialist society, the only yardstick of a person's usefulness and services is the work he puts in. Work and only work, not the place where a person works should determine the money he gets and the opportunities to use this money. It is unjust and humiliating when people who have honestly earned money at home cannot spend it - in their own country - as those who have returned from tours of duty abroad can. Yes, it is true that the work abroad can be difficult, the overall conditions hard and difficult to adapt to. But in this country too people often live and work in extreme conditions. And many people earn currency for the country without going abroad. So why such unfairness?

Personally I was sure that possessors of cheques would close ranks and unanimously defend the prestigious shops.

But I was mistaken. Judging from the letters that have come in, some of them are embarrassed, honestly earned though this privilege may be.

Public opinion is definitely in favour of shutting the Beriozka shops.

PAVEL VOLIN

INTERVENTION:

an attempt to strangle the revolution

70 years ago - in 1918 - the outlying western territories of the former Russian Empire witnessed stormy events. The first Soviet republics were set up towards the end of 1917 in Latvia and Estonia. They did not survive for long, but were subsequently restored: in Estonia in November 1918, and in Latvia in January 1919, while the Lithuanian Soviet Republic was established in December 1918.

But these young people's republics were soon replaced by bourgeois regimes. How did that happen, and who helped the counterrevolution to gain the upper hand? Why were the revolutionary forces in the Baltic territories defeated?

We put these questions to eminent historians and to people who themselves took part in the events of those days. First, Lithuania.

POVILAS VITKAUSKAS,

Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

The revolutionary movement in Lithuania matured in incredibly difficult conditions. It should not be forgotten that the Kaiser's Germany had occupied Lithuania in the autumn of 1915, installed a military-colonial regime and pursued a policy of annexation and Germanization. The working people of Lithuania were subjected to both national and social oppression, as the bourgeois political parties at that time linked Lithuania's future with Germany. Only the revolutionary Social Democrats in Lithuania remained consistent in their political aims.

The revolutionary liberation struggle was able to develop only after the collapse of the Kaiser's regime. In its appeal of November 7, 1918, the CC of the Lithuanian Communist Party wrote: "We call on the entire population of the towns and villages to organize speedily and set up Workers' Soviets, the representatives of which will gather in Vilnius and found a workers' state, which together with the proletariat of Russia and Germany will introduce a socialist system to our country."

On December 8, 1918, a Provisional revolutionary governmnent of workers and peasants was set up in Vilnius. On December 16 it issued a document of historic significance - a Manifesto proclaiming that all power would now pass into the hands of the Lithuanian Soviets of workers and peasants with no or little land, and an independent Lithuanian Soviet socialist state was thus founded. An 8-hour working day was introduced, as well as a social security system for the working people. Work began on the restoration of the railways, bridges and means of communication. A Decree on Land confirmed the nationalization of all land proclaimed by the Manifesto.

On December 18, Lenin sent a message of congratulation to the provisional revolutionary government in Lithuania. That was its first de facto recognition.

WESTERN PROPAGANDA PERSISTENTLY CLAIMS THAT IT WAS

Vincas Mickevicius-Kapsukas, head of Lithuania's first Soviet government.

LIETUVOS AIDAS

REDAKCIJOS ir ADMINISTRACIJOS ADRESAS.

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Ateinančiais metais Reino kraštas bus

The newspaper Lietuvos Aidas tried to justify itself.

THE TARIBA - THE LITHUANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL SET UP IN 1917 - THAT RESTORED LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE. A DATE IS EVEN GIVEN - FEBRUARY 16, 1918. WHAT IS THAT DATE SUPPOSED TO SIGNIFY?

ROBERTAS ZIUGZDA,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

I suggest that you judge what happened on February 16, 1918 from quotations from a source that cannot be suspected of hostility to the bourgeois regime - the paper Lietuvos Aidas published in Kaunas. The issue for August 14, 1929, can be found to this day in the Library of Vilnius University. The editorial read:

"...February 16 isn't very suitable as a national holiday, because it falls on winter. National holidays are best celebrated with everyone taking part in the open air. But on February 16 it is too cold outside. May 15 wouldn't be bad from the point of view of the weather, but that date does not figure in the calendar of Church holidays. That means that people would lose a working day, and that is extremely inconvenient for the peasants, as it usually coincides with spring field work. August 15 is observed as a religious holiday everywhere. It is also a good day from the point of view of the weather, as the summer is not yet over. So we believe it is hard to object to this choice."

What lay behind all this persiflage? Why was it necessary to invoke the weather as valid grounds for the choice of such a seemingly important date as the national holiday? Let us take a look at the documents. This one is from the archives of the Foreign Ministry of bourgeois Lithuania and is entitled: "The establishment and character of the Lithuanian state Tariba":

"The unrest and revolts against German occupation in 1916-17 forced the German state to look for a way out. Germany hoped to set up a representative body which it could trust and which would serve as a go-between for the German and the Lithuanian governments. That is why the German government turned to certain well-known Lithuanian figures, and asked them to take the initiative in selecting people worthy of participating in a reliable Tariba."

That was the situation when on December 11, 1917, the Tariba issued a declaration proclaiming the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state, and breaking off all state ties with other nations. However, in keeping with Germany's demand, the Tariba called "for eternal, firm allied ties with Germany" to be "legalized in a military convention, a convention on communications, common customs and a common currency." Even the representative of the Lithuanian bourgeoisie in the U.S., Roman Catholic priest V. Bartuska, acknowledged at the time "that it was tantamount to selling one's soul to the devil."

The compliance of bourgeois politicians aroused discontent in the country, so it was not surprising that some members of the Tariba called for the abandonment of the Declaration of December 11. However, A. Smetona rejected their suggestion. But a way out was found: the Tariba decided to proclaim the restoration of independence without any reference to the resolution of December 11. That was how the document of February 16, 1918, subsequently called by the bourgeoisie the Act of Independence, made its appearance. In effect, it was the same Declaration, but with the first part slightly edited.

How did Germany react? In a letter of February 21 Chancellor Hertling instructed the German eastern front command to inform the Tariba that the German government had been prepared to recognize Lithuania on the basis of the Declaration of December 11, 1917. But the Lithuanian Tariba had undermined the grounds for this by its latest move. The Tariba backed down. In a letter to Hertling on February 28, it was stated that the resolution of December 11 had not been annulled by any decisions and remained in force. And when a delegation from the Tariba arrived in Berlin at the end of March, it requested the Kaiser to recognize Lithuania on the principles "formulated in the decision of December 11, 1917."

The further course of events was again dictated by Berlin. The leader of the Catholic Centre Party, M. Erzberger, put forward a candidate for the throne of Lithuania - the Count of Württemberg, Duke Wilhelm von Urach. On June 4, 1918, the Presidium of the Tariba offered the throne to Urach, who would be known as Mindaugas II. Urach accepted the proposal on July 1. And it was only on November 2, 1918, when the Kaiser's regime in Germany was tottering, that the Tariba decided to refrain from offering the throne to Urach...

That is why even in bourgeois Lithuania there was reluctance to celebrate February 16, as it represented an act of treachery with regard to Lithuanian independence, and not the establishment of a sovereign state.

The Soviet government in Lithuania, which at the end of 1918 had begun to implement sweeping social reforms, found itself in very difficult straits. It was under attack from German occupation forces, Polish interventionists and White Guard units. And all this was being overseen and masterminded by the Entente, which was intent on building a "cordon sanitaire" (buffer zone) around Soviet Russia. On August 26, 1919, counterrevolutionary troops occupied the last town of Soviet Lithuania - Zarasai.

AND NOW TO ESTONIA, WHERE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIAL AND NATIONAL STRUGGLES WAS NO LESS COMPLEX. AS IN LITHUANIA, FIRST THE KAISER'S GERMANY AND THEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ENTENTE INTERFERED IN THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION."

KARL SIILIVASK,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

The victory of the October revolution and the transition of power to the Soviets went off peacefully in Estonia, without any armed struggle or bloodshed. That was due to the fact that the revolutionary forces in Estonia were much stronger than any others. On October 27, 1917, the Military-Revolutionary Committee of Estonia headed by I. Rabchinski, V. Kingissepp, and E. Meister took over from the Provincial Council and the provisional government's Commissar for the Province, I. Posk. The transfer of power was formalized by an act. Posk gave up his powers without offering any resistance.

In all district towns local Soviets were set up and took over from the regional authorities. In both the towns and the villages, new Red Guard units were formed. But, most important of all, local committees were formed in the villages, and the estates of big landowners confiscated and turned over to the landless peasants. The Estonian language became the official language both in all civilian affairs and in the schools. Workers' control was introduced in factories, and by the end of 1917 all banks had been nationalized.

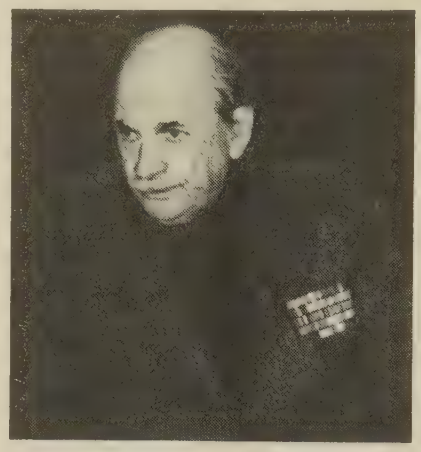
Predictably, however, the Estonian bourgeoisie had its own plans. Its counterrevolutionary centre - the Provisional Council - made an attempt to seize power. Its representatives gathered in Vyshgorod Castle on November 16 and hastily took dozens of decisions in less than half an hour, a mere 25 minutes. This council proclaimed itself the "sole body of supreme power, whose decisions and instructions are binding on everyone in Estonia." The workers of Tallinn thought differently. Together with soldiers from the 3rd Estonian regiment, they marched on the castle and dispersed the Council. The bourgeoisie could only hope for help from interventionist forces.

They sent representatives to the embassies of the United States, Britain and France in Petrograd, as well as to the German ambassador in Stockholm, begging for help.

ÜLO TAIGRO,
D. Sc. (Hist)

The Baltic barons who wished to preserve their lands, factories and political influence played a special role in Estonia. Their leader, Baron Dellingshausen, sent a message through his representative in Berlin that local Germans were preparing for Estonia and the other Baltic states to join up with the Kaiser's Germany.

Naturally, this idea appealed to government circles in Germany, but they wanted a credible pretext; they felt that "the people themselves" should put such a request to the German Chancellor. At the end of 1917, Berlin sent five couriers one after the other to Dellingshausen demanding that signatures be collected among the population to a petition demanding Estonian union with Germany. Each time Dellingshausen had to reply that



Hendrik Gustavson: "On February 25, 1918, we engaged German regular troops in the Narva quarries."

he was unable to do so as the Estonians had refused to sign.

That, however, did not halt German plans to occupy Estonia. The Estonian bourgeoisie, who knew of these plans, together with White Guard officers drew up a plan of action that would help the advance of the Kaiser's troops. It was agreed that if a telegram arrived in Tallinn from Haapsalu reading "Father died - Johannes," it would signify that the Germans had crossed the bay and landed in Virtsu. If the telegram read "Paul has broken his leg" it would mean that the Germans were approaching Haapsalu. And on receiving a telegram saying "Flour has arrived - Karl," word should be passed to the conspirators in Tallinn that the Germans had launched their attack. Detailed plans were also prepared for the actions of the White Guards in Tallin.

In view of the imminent danger, the Estonian Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet issued an appeal. "Comrades!" it read. "We do not have big armed units, but under no circumstances can we allow our land to be trampled by greedy plunderers.... We urge you all to hurry to Tallinn and join the people's defence units!"

German staff documents confirm that on February 22, 1918, about ten kilometres south of the railway station of Risti, the first clash took place between the Germans' 5th Cyclist Battalion and the Estonian Red Guards.

AT THIS POINT WE INTERRUPT THE HISTORIAN WITH THE REMINISCENCES OF SOMEONE WHO TOOK PART IN THE BATTLES AGAINST GERMAN ARMY UNITS 70 YEARS AGO. HENDRIK GUSTAVSON RECALLS:

I was born and grew up in a workers' settlement near the town of Narva, and when dual power was established after the February events, I had no doubts as to whose side I was on. Since I had had a secondary education, I was appointed commander of a Red Guard unit. What was our job? To maintain order in the settlement.

German troops landing on Saaremaa.

When the Germans launched their attack in February 1918, the Red Guards gave battle to the invaders near the railway station of Keila, and we managed to hold them up for two days. In the meantime, Estonians who did not want to remain under German rule were evacuated.

The 3rd Red Guard regiment under Karl Kanger retreated along the Narva highway to the city of Narva. We clashed with the Germans on February 25 on the territory of the Narva stone quarries. The forces were unequal, but we tried to hold out, as we understood that the fate of the revolution depended on the outcome: if we were defeated, the road to Petrograd would be clear. In addition, we learned that behind our backs, taking advantage of the approach of German troopos, the bourgeoisie had set up a "saviour committee," which on February 24, 1918, had issued a manifesto declaring Estonian "independence." And there wasn't a single word of protest in the manifesto against the occupation of Estonia by German troops.

German occupiers in Tartu. 1918.

On February 27, on Lenin's instructions, two Marine units were sent to our aid under the command of the Chairman of Centro-Balt Pavel Dybenko. With their help we kept the Germans at bay until March 2. And on March 3 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed.... I learned of it later, in a Petrograd hospital, as on the 1st of March I was hit in the chest by a German bullet near the station of Sala....

ÜLO TAIGRO CONTINUES HIS ACCOUNT OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE BOURGEOISIE'S BETRAYAL OF THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE'S INTERESTS.

After having occupied Estonia, the German command no longer needed the services of the local bourgeoisie. The occupation authorities disbanded the national military units formed by the bourgeoisie, as well as the "savior committee." The entire territory of Estonia was divided into administrative districts, each with a German officer or civil servant at its head. The German language was introduced in offices, schools and on the railways. Letters had to have the address written in German. The commander of the German troops in the Tartu area, Lieutenant General Adams, began "reforming" the education system. On March 7, 1918, he issued orders proclaiming Tartu University a German University.

The occupation authorities did all they could to belittle the culture of the Estonian and other Baltic peoples. In February 1918, a paper published by them in Vilnius carried an article about the Estonians, asserting that their language was a primitive one. An illustrated magazine published by the occupation authorities in Riga and distributed abroad carried photographs of Estonia, showing chiefly its most backward areas. They showed Estonians doing the most menial physical work - chopping wood, washing clothes, etc.

A wave of terror swept the country. Dozens of people were killed and thrown under the ice of Lake Emajugi in Tartu. An eyewitness of a massacre in Tartu described the scene: "It was horrifying.... About 80 people had been arrested. They were taken to the banks of the Embach, near Rybatskaya and Shtabelnaya streets. There they were released and told they could leave. But they had hardly taken a few steps when the German soldiers started shooting. Red blood stained the white snow, and dozens of human beings writhed in the snow until death came as a release. After that, a unit was sent to the Ratshof District and it shot the council of workers' elders at the Ratshof estate - all five. In the evening several more such punitive units were sent out by car to other neighbouring estates."

But foreign domination ended when the November revolution in Germany toppled the Kaiser. The Soviet government annulled the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. On November 25, the Germans were forced out of Pskov. Three days later the battle for the liberation of Narva began, in which national Estonian units took part. Units of sailors from the cruiser Oleg and three transports under the command of the Bolshevik V. Puss were landed in Narva-Joesuu. In just one day Narva was cleared of German and White Guard troops. Soviet power was proclaimed once again on November 29 in the form of the Estland Workers' Commune.

It was then that a British military squadron, mercenaries from Finland and Scandinavia, Russian White Guard units and Baltic Germans rushed to the aid of the Estonian bourgeoisie. The American Chargé d' Affaires H. Schmidt reported to Washington from Copenhagen on November 29 (the day the Estonian Workers' Commune was proclaimed) that a British squadron consisting of 5 light cruisers, 9 destroyers, one transport vessel and trawlers under the command of Admiral Alexander Sinclair had arrived in Copenhagen during the night of November 28 and was leaving for Tallinn on the night of the following day where, according to his information, it would land soldiers and weapons to help the Estonian authorities in their struggle against the Bolsheviks.

The news of the arrival of a British squadron caused the Estonian bourgeoisie to rejoice. At last their seemingly endless wait was over. "On December 12,"

a representative of the Estonian provisional government told foreign journalists, "the British ships were sighted in the bay. Apart from everything else, the squadron brought our army thousands of rifles and a considerable number of machine guns - and we had had practically none."

The working people protested against the presence of the British fleet in Tallinn bay, and on December 15, 1918, held a meeting in the Estonia Theatre in Tallinn. They declared that they had no faith in the capitalist government and demanded the restoration of Soviet power and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Estonian soil.

It was an unequal struggle. Tallinn workers organized a protest demonstration on December 17, 1918, demanding the departure of the British from Estonia and the removal of the interventionists. The workers also called for the overthrow of the bourgeois government, the withdrawal of foreign troops and non-interference by American and British imperialists in Estonia's internal affairs. Carrying these slogans, the workers marched towards the city centre. White Estonian units opened fire - four of the demonstators fell to the ground. Two of them were killed: Eduard Arbon, a foundry worker from the Krull factory, and Eduard Malder, from the Rotermann factory. Under the pressure of overwhelming forces, the Red units were forced to retreat. Narva fell on January 19, 1919. A Finnish general, Mannerheim's personal friend, arrived in Estonia. Together with the Estonian bourgeoisie, the foreign imperialists were able to overthrow the Soviet government in Estonia, except in a tiny area in the southeast.

The Estland Workers' Commune continued its existence for only a short time - until July 1919. At a congress of Estonian party organizations held in Petrograd in August 1919, it was noted in its resolution: "Although the Estonian Soviet Republic has been wiped off the face of the earth by international hangmen, it is not dead. It lives on in the hearts of thousands, tens of thousands of Estonian workers, and the ranks of its supporters are increasing daily."

TIME HAS SHOWN THESE WORDS TO BE PROPHETIC. SOVIET ESTONIA EXISTS. BUT THE BLOOD-STAINED PAGES OF THE INTERVENTION CANNOT BE ERASED FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. WESTERN POLITICIANS WHO LIKE TO TALK OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS WOULD DO WELL TO REMEMBER THAT.

Publication prepared by BORIS BALKAREI

Vilnius-Tallinn-Moscow

SMALL BUSINESSES KEEP GOING

Many West Germans want to have their own business, let even a small one. Such buisinesses give man a feeling of independence. It is also a means of self-expression and an independent source of income. The last circumstance is not unimportant in view of growing unemployment.

But really to be one's own master, one must have not only the initial capital and be familiar with bookkeeping and tax legislation. One must also have a businessman's acumen to survive in a tough and competitive struggle.

A filling station

There is a petrol station - one of the many owned by the F.R.G. Aral oil company - a mere three minutes walk from the New Times office. It is located by a fork leading in one direction to the city centre and the other to the government office section.

I usually buy petrol here. The flowmeter shows the litres and millilitres, and the price indicator, the marks and pfennings. And when your tank is full, the machine issues a chit stating the sum, quantity of fuel and the date. I take the chit to the attendant's room and hand it to Hans Günther Taube, who operates the station on a contract, his wife or one of the attendants. That is all. Now you can proceed with your business. As a rule, regular customers pay monthly or quarterly. It depends on the arrangement you have with Herr Taube.

As far as the range of services, quality and standard of work are concerned, Herr Taube's filling station, like any other in the F.R.G., is far superior to any of our service stations.

Every filling station sells a wide range of goods, from chewing gum and other small items to tyres. What puzzles me is why Herr Taube also stocks large quantities of bottled beverages that are totally inappropriate for motorists.

The assortment of items is steadily increasing, and the turnover is growing. Although the prices are a little higher than those in the supermarket, many people prefer to make their purchases at Herr Taube's, so as not to look for a parking space in front of big stores. Herr Taube's profits from the shop are higher than from the servicing of cars.

In the F.R.G. the owner of a filling station or a person operating one on a contract is an independent businessman. He decides what services he can offer, how many attendants to hire and how much to pay them. Herr Taube has been running his station on a contract from the Aral oil company for 20 years. I asked him which is more profitable: to own a station or to rent it.

"I can't say," he said thoughtfully. "The owner does not pay rent. But then he has to build a station with his own money. The oil company he signs a contract with on the sale of petrol supplies only the pumps, flowmeters, price indicators and tanks. All that is the property of the company. Few people can put up the initial capital. That's why there are fewer and fewer owner-operated stations."

The prices of petrol are fixed not by those who operate the stations, but by the oil companies depending on the market conditions and the region of the country. As a rule, the prices maintained by all the big companies are approximately the same. They watch each other carefully. As soon as one company alters its prices, the others follow suit. The one that offers better service for the same money stands to gain.

How does the owner or leaseholder of a filling station earn his living? I have already mentioned the proceeds from the sale of miscellaneous items. In addition, Herr Taube gets three and a half pfennigs per litre of petrol sold. And he sells 1.8 million litres a year.

I asked Herr Taube what production losses amounted to in percentage terms. He said they were compensated for by the Aral oil company, provided he showed them the account book registering the number of litres of petrol he had received according to the bill and the actual quantity in the tank, and explained the reason for the discrepancy between the figures. The evaporation of petrol is not automatically taken into account. It should be mentioned that the station is kept

clinically clean, and there is no odour of petrol. This shows that there is no evaporation. Sometimes there is more petrol in the tanks than is reflected in the accompanying document. Juggling with accounts is simply not in a businessman's interests.

One last point. When twice or thrice a week the tanker arrives at the station to refill the tanks, customers continue to be served.

The Bergmann House

Bruchhausen is something between a village and a town, with several dozen houses pleasantly sited on a hillside in the Rhine Valley at some distance from the busier autobahns and tourist routes.

To satisfy my appetite I entered Bergmann House. Judging from the sign, it is a coffee house and restaurant. It appears to be a more respectable place than the beer hall next door. I had another reeason for coming here: I wanted to know how it was run. Though it was Saturday, there were no customers at the tables. All of them were seated on stools at the bar. Taking a seat, I ordered a cup of coffee. I was served by Edmund Bergmann, a tall strong man - the proprietor.

He had started out in life as a miner. He worked in several collieries and ended his career "underground" as a demolition man. Earning good money, by 1961 he had saved enough to realize his long-cherished dream of establishing a business, becoming "self-employed," as they say here. Theirs is a family enterprise. He runs it with his daughter Barbara (his wife died 15 years ago, and his elder son having left home to work as a cook in the city). When there are more customers during the holiday season, Herr Bergmann hires a dishwasher and a waitress. All the rest of the work is done by himself and his daughter. They pour the beer, prepare the food (they offer 25 dishes), bake cakes and pastries on order, clean up and redecorate the place, do all the plumbing jobs and keep the books.

"It's cheaper that way," Herr Bergmann says. "If you want to run a business and enjoy life, avoiding dirty work, you will go bankrupt." Every day 200-250 small entrepreneurs are ruined in the Federal Republic.

In a good year the Bergmann House has a turnover of up to DM250,000. Most of the money goes into production: purchase of provisions, beer, overheads like water, heat, gas, electricity, and compulsory insurance. Fourteen per cent of the turnover is levied as value added tax. In addition, there is a quarterly tax on profits, which varies progressively depending on the proceeds. Sometimes it might be as high as 56 per cent.

I have always wondered why the proprietors of restaurants and beer halls were able to operate at a profit, if the places are only half full at best or only a quarter full. To understand this you should compare the price they pay for the provisions with what they charge for the dishes they serve. A 200-gramme slice of lean pork can be bought for DM2. In a restaurant like Bergmann House they will serve it roasted with salad and French fries for DM12-14. Even if you subtract the cost of electricity, spices, butter, oil and vegetables, the extra charge comes to about 300 per cent.

High prices do not seem to frighten customers away. On the contrary, the fact that there are few people is an advantage, because you feel comfortable.

Though many of these places go bankrupt, their number does not seem to be decreasing in the F.R.G. As soon as one goes bust another is opened in its place. The demand for them is very high.

A corner café.
Photo from the book "Wie wir leben"

Herr Bergmann's net income is modest, if not meagre - DM600-700, and his daughter's - DM400. This is only a third or even a quarter of the average wage of a worker or office employee. True, the Bergmanns do not have to pay for either their lodgings or food from that sum.

An outsider's view

In the F.R.G. there is a total of 1,900,000 entrepreneurs (not counting farmers). More than half of them run family businesses with one or two employees. They account for nearly two thirds of the country's national income. Second on the list are small firms with under 50 employees, and medium-sized companies with up to 500 employees. Then there are the big companies - 3,600 all told.

The government is of the opinion that small and middle businesses will help slow down the growth of unemployment (2.5 million people were out of work in January 1988) and halt the decline in economic activity. This explains why measures to stimulate small enterprise have been taken since the late 1970s. In particular, a government aid programme has been introduced for those who wish to start their own businesses.

However, the potential of small businesses can hardly be overestimated at a time when, as the parliamentary SDPG stated in the Bundestag recently, it is of the utmost urgency to draw up a common concept to deal with the critical situation in the economy.

In the last analysis, all these economic troubles affect small businesses too, because they impede economic growth. The fall in effective demand is worsening the chances of those who have plunged into the turbulent waters of private enterprise. The independence of small businessmen is often nominal, as they depend on large suppliers and the market situation, and not infrequently become directly dependent as well on more powerful competitors.

It is not easy to survive in such conditions. Though most of those who are doing well try to depict themselves poorer than they are, the situation of many is far from rosy.

On the whole the income of a small businessman is comparable with the average wage. However, he does have to work harder. DM100 in terms of turnover produce an average profit of DM2.

The demand is high, but the supply is high too. The competition is formidable, so the problem of extra high earnings does not arise.

The result is that the quality of service is high, nor is there any shortage of such services. In addition, both the businessman and the customer are happy.

NIKITA ZHOLKVER
our own correspondent
Bonn

The beginning

Renovation... The word became part of the everyday lexicon of the Vietnamese people just over a year ago. What has changed in the country since then?

From our special correspondent
ALBERT PIN

It was still early in the morning, but already hot. A huge, busy town – once Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City.

The car turned off from one of the main thoroughfares into a quieter street and stopped outside a private house. In the past it had probably been an imposing residence, now it looked delapidated. Its owner, a lean well-preserved man of about sixty, met us at the gate. He introduced his wife and other members of his family and invited us up the steps leading to a wide open veranda.

With me were my colleague Mai Thi from the Hanoi magazine Vietnam Courier and Thanh Hien, from the external relations department of the Ho Chi Minh City People's Committee. Both had learnt Russian in the Soviet Union. But on this occasion I did not need their help as interpreters, for the owner of the house, Nguyen Huu Co, spoke both French and English. It's true that, as I later learned, his French was a bit rusty, as he hadn't spoken it since 1975. As for his English, he had had the occasion to use it fairly often recently. Since he had returned last September to his home and family after a twelve-year absence, he had probably been interviewed by more than a dozen foreign correspondents. He showed me the pile of visiting cards left by representatives of major newspapers, news agencies, radio and TV companies from the United States, Britain, Japan, Australia... I turned out to be not only the first Soviet newsman, but the first Soviet citizen Nguyen Huu Co had had occasion to meet.

It's time to introduce him to our readers. He is well known both in Vietnam and abroad. In 1945, as a junior officer in the French colonial army, Nguyen Huu Co, who, as he noted, came from a poor family, made a dazzling career. He reached the rank of general, and in 1965 was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the Saigon army, and shortly afterwards became Defence Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in the puppet government headed at that time by Cao Ky.

It is not for me to judge what had prevented the general from maintaining his position, or taking a further step up the ladder. The struggle for power among the highly-placed Washington puppets was pretty fierce. Nor was there any accord between the Saigon generals. And Huu Co suddenly found himself without a job: the Prime Minister had sent him off on an official visit to Taiwan, and followed up with instructions to keep away from Saigon, as his safety could not be guaranteed there. Huu Co decided to move to Hong Kong and there await better times. However, he returned to Saigon fairly soon. The new (and last!) puppet President Thieu informed the general that he could return. Huu Co came back, but decided against resuming a military or political career. In 1970-73 he was vice-president of a major bank, and then he turned businessman. He had a bicycle shop in Saigon and a business in Vung Tau connected with the export of sea food to France.

Then and now

At this point I shall interrupt my story about my meeting with the former Minister and Deputy Premier, apart from noting that his subsequent life was hard. In the summer of 1975, shortly after the liberation of Saigon and the capitulation of the puppet regime, Huu Co was sent to a re-education camp for former Saigon generals. He returned home, as I have already mentioned, only in September 1987. Eight other generals who had served under the puppet regime returned with him at the same time. Nguyen Huu Co linked this liberation of such a big group of former generals with the considerable changes taking place in the country after the Sixth Congress of Vietnamese Communists in December 1986, with changes that had already affected many aspects of life, and, consequently, the lives of many different people.

I first visited this city on the Saigon River in May 1977. To this day I remember the old and new names of its hotels – the Continental – Dong Khoi (Revolt), the Caravelle – Doc Lap (Independence), the Majestic – Cuu Long (Mekong)...

That time I stayed at the Caravelle and I remember being disappointed that it was not the more modest but more famous Continental, where Graham Greene had written his "Quiet American."

The Continental is now being repaired. The line of bright red American limousines that used to stand idle – because of lack of petrol – has disappeared. But superficially the city does not seem to have changed. Perhaps it has become a bit cleaner....

What were the main worries that faced the new masters of the city? Immediately after its liberation it had four million inhabitants, and more than a million of the able-bodied workforce were without jobs. This army of unemployed was swelled by the return of hundreds and thousands of former soldiers, civil servants under the old regime, and "girls" for whom prostitution, if not their only profession, was one of the main means of livelihood. Saigon was also full of drug addicts, tramps and children without families and homes. People whose lives and souls had been mangled. Special schools and classes for re-education were opened – a re-education that involved work, politics and moral standards... At that time I heard many bitter and commonplace life stories in those schools. The road to a new life was far from easy, smooth and straight. There is no sense in hiding that.

But when at that time I wrote that the new people's government had achieved a great deal in just two years, I was not embellishing the facts. Factories abandoned by owners who had fled abroad had started working again. Hundreds of thousands of people whom fate had brought to the banks of the Saigon River had returned to their homes or moved to new economic regions – to the virgin or unused lands around the city and in the neighbouring provinces. The best buildings in Ho Chi Minh City were made over to children's homes and schools.

It was equally obvious (and I noted that then) that a great deal of effort would be required to eliminate the sores bred by colonialism and the many years of war imposed on Vietnam. To provide everyone with work and enough to live on. To do away with the shanty towns, whose homes of plywood, cardboard, sheets of tin and unused tyres spoiled the image of the city once known as the Asian Monte Carlo.

Today too Ho Chi Minh City has a bigger labour force than it can use, though the surplus is not as great as before. According to the City Party Committee about 200,000 people have no steady jobs, most of them young people. And it is not only school leavers who are unable to find work, but people with a college education, hundreds of University graduates. Nor did the attempts to reduce the population of the city prove successful. It is still the biggest city in the country, with four million inhabitants. About 50,000 families live in makeshift homes on the canal, on old barges and in hovels haphazardly put together.

My colleagues from the paper Saigon giai phong, and the directors of a number of leading factories told me frankly why the city had been unable to solve these and other urgent problems. It seems a paradox that 200,000 people are without jobs when the production capacities of local industry are only half used. The reason for such a state of affairs lies in the shortage of raw materials, electricity and spare parts for wornout and obsolete equipment... But the difficulties are rooted in something else as well – badly organized supplies to factories and sales of their output, mistakes and miscalculations, conservative bureaucratic methods of planning and managing the economy. In other words, the renovation of the way of thinking and style of work that was talked about at the Sixth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party is so far making slow headway. And although there have appeared factories that function very efficiently, and new forms of economic management have been given the green light (Ho Chi Minh City is a trailblazer in this respect) there are still many obstacles on the way to switching from bureaucratic centralism to socialist cost accounting. This applies not only to the city on the Saigon River, but to the country as a whole.

Face the truth squarely

The main message handed down by the Sixth Congress of the VCP was: face the truth squarely and speak only the truth. And it was in that mood that Vietnam came to the Congress.

Never before, in the entire history of the party was there such a wide, frank and intense discussion. That was how a member of the Party's Central Committee and head of the CC Propaganda Department Tran Trong Tan described the congress when I spoke to him in Hanoi. More than a million people had commented in the press and by letter on the draft of the Political Report to the Congress. Even Vietnamese emigrants abroad were given the opportunity to take part in discussing problems of vital interest to the country. So when the Central Committee Report was presented to the congress it could be said to have incorporated both the ideas of the party and of the people. In effect, it was the fruit of their collective effort, and effort that had also assimilated the new ideas of perestroika in the Soviet Union.

The Sixth Congress is rightly referred to as the congress of renewal. From its rostrum people spoke out openly and honestly about what had hindered the country's advance over the past ten years. This included the arbitrary methods of the centralized bureaucratic system of economic management; the vast, yet barely effective management apparatus; the mechanism of state subsidies provided without regard for the real development of production; a simplified idea of the period of transition to socialism, trying to run too fast, and abolish immediately all non-socialist economic modes; conservatism; and, finally, negative phenomena in different social spheres.

"In the Soviet Union," Tran Tron Tan continued, "the ideas of perestroika have been greeted with understanding by all sections of society – the working class, farmers and intellectuals – and have penetrated the consciousness of the masses. If we face the truth squarely, that cannot be said of Vietnam. Even some of the leading cadres have not yet accepted the ideas of renewal. We have not yet succeeded in getting them accepted by all party members. So we have to renovate theoretical thought as well. Yet time does not stand still: we have to get down to implementing the decisions and ideas of the Sixth Congress. That is one of the difficulties of the country's concrete historic situation at present...

The plenum of the CC VCP held last December noted that 1987 saw first steps along the road of renewal. There had been certain positive changes in party and state leadership, progress in resolving a number of economic and social problems. The working people had become more active. But despite the importance of all these changes, they were of a local nature and remained skin-deep.

The social and economic situation in the country remains complicated. Food production has dropped. The rate of growth in state, small-scale and handicrafts industry has decreased. The per capita national income has fallen. The number of jobless has increased. And the standard of living has dropped, especially that of state, industrial and office workers. Undesireable phenomena persist in public life...

The main reasons for such a state of affairs have already been mentioned, but I should like to add a few more words on the subject. From the conversations I had in the CC VCP and the city party committees in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, as well as with my colleagues, Vietnamese journalists, and managers and workers at factories, the conclusion I drew was that

Vung Tau harbour

a new moral and political climate is taking shape in the country. It is evident in the unexpected frankness of people, including officials, which at first surprised me, in the unusual interest the Vietnamese people are taking in their newspapers, and the increasingly critical tone of some of their publications. It was also evident from the mounting desire of the public to put an end to undesirable phenomena, and find solutions to problems that in the past had to all intents and purposes been ignored.

To speak out and act

At the end of May last year for the first time the CC VCP paper Nhan Dan carried a column under the heading "Urgent Tasks" signed by the initials N.V.L. The column touched on one of the country's most acute problems – rising prices. The author criticized the work of the trading organizations. He was also critical of the press and the rest of the mass media for not being active enough in fighting violations of socialist legality and other undesirable phenomena.

The first such column was followed by a second, then a third. It became a permanent feature in the paper and very popular one. The columnist always wrote on very topical subjects, ranging widely in his choice: mismanagement in trade, the tax service, the education system, irresponsibility in safeguarding socialist property, the abuse by officials of their position, violations of the laws and norms of party life by people in positions of power.... Concrete examples were always given, along with facts to substantiate the accusations, and the style and language of the column was such that it was understood by all....

From the very first column the name of the author was no secret. The initials N.V.L. stood for Nguyen Van Linh – the General Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party. It's true that subsequently at a meeting in his constituency he chose to decipher the initials somewhat differently: "Noi Va Lam," which in Vietnamese means "to speak out and act." Very soon these words became something of a slogan, for they meant that, having started the process of renewal, one could not stop at the stage of declarations, for the aim was to achieve real changes in all spheres of life. The column "Urgent Tasks" (lately the author has signed it with his full name) opened a new stage in the establishment of openness, criticism, and self-criticism in Vietnam, mobilizing the public to work for the desired changes. It was no accident that after this column began to appear, the paper again started receiving a vast amount of letters from its readers (the flow had fallen off somewhat after the Sixth Congress). Other national and local papers followed the example of the Nhan Dan and introduced such columns, as did the country's Radio and TV services. In his own column Nguyen Van Linh often referred to publications in the local press.

Openness, however, does not suit everyone. When I spoke of this with the chief of the Propaganda Department of the CC VCP Tran Trong Tan, he told me bluntly: "Usually no one comes out openly against the criticism, but instead of getting down to discussing shortcomings and seeing how they can be set right, many leaders evade replying to the criticism under various pretexts, or carp about an inaccuracy in the critical article – or even without one – and start hounding the journalist responsible for exposing them.

Openness does not come easily. But once the initial lessons have been learnt, they compell people to take another look at seemingly unassailable issues that have never before been subject to public discussion. One such group of questions is the unjustified privileges given to top officials and their families. Why should the sons and daughters of such officials enjoy priority in going abroad for an education, when others of their age serve in the army or work at factories? Why should some officials have homes in several cities, such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and Da Nang? Why should their children be supplied free of charge with electricity, water and transport facilities at the expense of factories? Why should they be able to buy goods in short supply at low prices? "All these matters have to be resolved," wrote the paper Quan Doi Nhan Dan, the organ of the Chief Political Division of the Vietnamese People's Army and the National Defence Ministry. Only when that is done shall we be able to say that the principles of social justice are being observed.

And here is a story I was told by the chief of the Propaganda Department of the Hanoi City Party Committee, Vu Huu Ngoan, when I asked him how effective press criticism was in the capital. In the centre of Hanoi, he told me, there is a club with a tennis court, a swimming pool and a restaurant where officials can relax in each other's company. Well, there's no thing bad about that. But what the ordinary people of the city failed to understand was why the official cars had to be parked outside, quietly waiting to take these officials home when they were ready. This question was raised by the paper Hanoi moi. It met with the backing of the party and state leadership. The number of officials who were given the right to use official transport to travel to and from work was sharply reduced. This right now belongs only to deputy ministers and persons of comparable rank.

The Continental Hotel where Graham Greene wrote his "The Quiet American."

Another topical issue was that of responsibility for mistakes made by officials at various levels. "No one can stand outside the law, believing himself not obliged to abide by the norms of public life," wrote N.V.L. in one of his columns. The Army newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan wrote: "The principle of equal rights in society will be violated if, for instance, the whole country knows about the mistakes made by the leader of a commune, while the shortcomings, and even sometimes crimes of higher-ranking officials are made known only to a closed circle of people." The Secretariat of the CC VCP and Council of Ministers issued special instructions in which they underlined that officials who had violated the law should be punished even more strictly than the rank and file.

One of the chain of complex problems facing the party and society today is that

replacing some of the cadres. The revolutionary renewal of the country depends very largely on how this is done. That has been underlined in many of the speeches made by the General Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Last September, in a special resolution, the party's Political Bureau stated the firm intention of the party leadership to ensure that its ranks and those of the state apparatus be cleansed of such elements and to enhance the role of Communists in

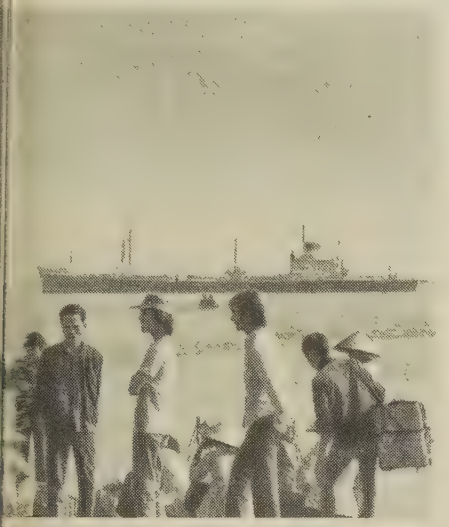


Photo by author

ensuring healthier public relations. Amongst other objectives, the resolution states the need to get rid of people who avoid taking an active part in the process of renewal and who cannot cope with their duties, along with all unhealthy elements.

Quite a number of major crimes were made public in Vietnam last year, crimes involving top officials and party members. Thus, the party committee in Quang Ninh Province, where the country's main coalfields lie, expelled 20 officials from the party for taking bribes, selling coal on the black market and circumventing the state system of distribution. In Lang Son Province more than 120 officials at provincial and local level, from the public security services and trade, were expelled and their cases turned over to the courts. Large sums of money were confiscated, as well as valuables running to millions of dong. The People's Court in Ho Chi Minh City passed severe sentences on the leaders of a big criminal group which had over a period of years been stealing goods arriving in the port of Saigon from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The group included port authority executives, crews of tugs, and security guard services. All those involved, including people who bought the stolen goods, were sentenced by the court.

"To speak out and to act..." The party's determination to get major changes under way in the country, surmount difficulties, and renew the entire state apparatus, way of thinking and style of work is in full accord with the urgent requirements facing Vietnam. And it also opens up wide prospects for the future.

The clock can't be turned back

On a square in the very centre of Ho Chi Minh City between the hotel Dong Khoi and Doc Lap stands a white building. The lower house of the puppet parliament used to meet there under the Saigon regime. Today it has been turned into a theatre, where I had the pleasure of seeing the extremely interesting folk ensemble Lotus giving a performance. Shortly before my arrival in the city, that same building had been used for the three-day trial of over 18 members of the counterrevolutionary émigré grouping calling itself the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam (NUFLV). I should like to quote the TASS correspondent's story of the trial to give readers a better idea of life in Vietnam today.

The front was formed in April 1980 in the American state of California and was sponsored by reactionary American circles. It proclaimed as its aim the overthrow of people's power in Vietnam. At the head of the front stood the former naval commander under the Saigon regime, Vice Admiral Hoang Co Minh. In 1981, together with his accomplices, he moved to the Ubon Province of Thailand, to the very point where the borders of Thailand, Laos and Kampuchea meet. Most members of the NUFLV are persons who formerly served in the Saigon puppet army.

The front had a stage-by-stage programme that it hoped to carry out between 1985 and 1992. Plans for the first stage included infiltrating armed units into Vietnam in order to set up "bases of resistance and liberated zones." At the final stage these units "with the support of the population" and backed by outside forces would capture power and restore a pro-American regime. In 1986-87 the front's bandit units tried three times to penetrate into the Central Highlands of Vietnam through Laos and Kampuchea. Last August 150 saboteurs made another attempt to cross the Vietnamese border through Laotian territory, but were routed. As many as 77 of them were taken prisoner and Hoang Co Minh was killed in the exchange of fire.

The trial of 18 membes of the counterrevolutionary grouping was attended by foreign correspondents, including newsmen from the United States, France, Australia and Thailand. One of the leaders of the group was sentenced to life imprisonment, and the rest received shorter terms. The court took into account that they were former peasants who had fled from Vietnam to Thailand and there been recruited by enemies of the republic.

But to return to the home of the former Saigon general Huu Co and his story about his present life and worries, and his plans for the future.

First he repaired the house, more or less. In this he found the training as a carpenter given to him in the camp very useful. Of their eight children, only three now live in the house with Huu Co and his wife: two sons and a daughter. The rest have families of their own. His wife and daughter make some money by knitting, and the sons also work. This is enough for them to live on. It is true that occasionally they receive money from one of their daughters, who has moved to the United States. The former general hopes that friends abroad will lend him enough money to start a small business – as a beginning he would like to open a workshop to produce nails.

Huu Co is well-informed about what is happening in Vietnam and the rest of the world. He reads the newspapers carefully. He found the decisions taken by the Sixth Congress very interesting. He heard about them while still in camp. He also knows about the perestroika in the Soviet Union. The ex-general hopes that the renovation process will prove fruitful for Vietnam. He expressed satisfaction that the Soviet Union and the United States have been able to reach agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. Détente and good relations with other countries are needed by everyone, and his country especially....

I asked Huu Co what career would he have chosen if he had the chance to start life all over again.

Not a military career, he assured me. As he sees things today, a business career – even a small business – is preferable. But you can't turn the clock back. As for the future.... He has 15 grandchildren. No complaints about his health. Nor can he complain of having a bad memory....

Hanoi – Ho Chi Minh City – Moscow

Eisenhower: "You can't have this kind of war"

THE BOMB AND THE PRESIDENT

SERGEI KARAGANOV, Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

U.S. military planners gradually grew aware of such deterring factors as the impossibility of routing the Soviet Union, the likely loss of U.S. positions in Europe, and the inevitable consequences - political, economic and socio-psychological, above all - of any, even the weakest retaliatory strike at American territory. It is true that in the meantime Washington sought to build up its armed forces at an accelerated rate in the hope of gaining absolute security and absolute superiority. However the Soviet Union thwarted these attempts one after another. Far from decreasing, the number of deterrents continued to grow. American strategists were compelled to bow to the necessity for greater caution.

"There just aren't enough bulldozers"

Judging from the National Security Council (NSC) and Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC) documents, the wording of American executive directives rapidly became increasingly cautious from 1952-53 on. The adherents of an unprovoked nuclear attack and even of brinkmanship began to lose or change their positions. In public, Washington continued to brandish its nuclear big stick and even to threaten using it. But in the privacy of their White House and Pentagon offices American strategists were compelled to revise, and even to reverse, their concepts in the light of the growth of Soviet deterrent might. While Directive NSC 135/3 of September 25, 1952,still admitted the possibility of **"blocking further expansion of Soviet power even at grave risk of general war,"** Directive NSC 141 of January 19, 1953,contained the following remarkable passage:

"The willingness of the United States, however, to initiate an atomic attack in the event that the Soviet rulers take certain actions which we would regard as a casus belli will be significantly affected by the casualties and destruction which the Soviet system could inflict in retaliation. Even at the present time, these casualties and this destruction would be very high."

Finally, Directive NSC 5440 of December 13, 1954, contained the following assertion (while conceding the U.S.S.R.'s ability to do serious damage to the United States):

"The initiation by the U.S. of such action for this purpose (reducing Soviet might - S.K.) **is not an acceptable course either to the U.S. or its major allies."**

The draft document Basic National Security Policy of November 15, 1954, said:

"The increased destructiveness of nuclear weapons and the approach of effective atomic parity are creating a situation in which general war would threaten the destruction of Western civilization and of the Soviet regime, and in which national objectives could not be attained through a general war, even if a military victory were won. A situation of mutual deterrence to a general war could result."

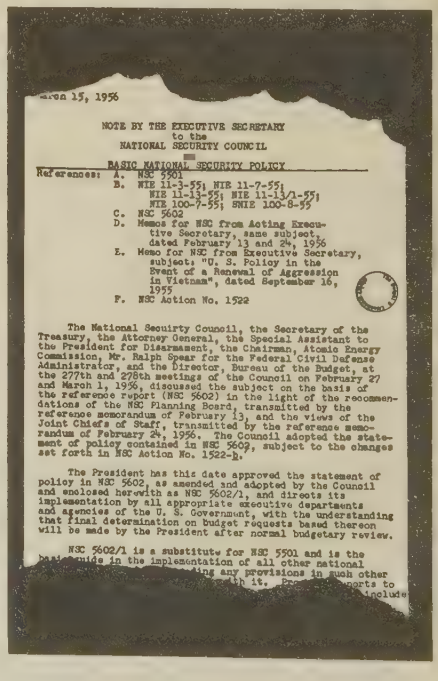
At the same time, they did not altogether abandon the threat of unleashing war. **"The United States,"** said NSC 5602/1, the basic directive on national security policy for 1956, **"must make clear its determination to prevail if general war eventuates."**Threatening war is one thing, and risking the fate of America is something else again. And when three members of the committee preparing the so-called Gaither Commission Report faced Eisenhower demanding that a preemptive war be unleashed against the U.S.S.R., the President (as one of his aides recorded in her diary) heard them out politely and replied: "You can't have this kind of war. There just aren't enough bulldozers to scrape the bodies off the streets."

The archives of the U.S. government and military command of the fifties provides ample material for understanding the postwar period.

Post-Eisenhower developments

First of all, they give us an additional idea of the magnitude of the threat that hung over the world in the early years of the cold war. The period of the U.S. atomic monopoly was fraught with enormous danger neutralized only by the countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union (incidentally, the promptness of these measures came as a surprise to Washington).

Then came, perforce, a "period of



15, 1956

NOTE BY THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
to the
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

References: A. NSC 5501
B. NIE 11-3-55; NIE 11-7-55; NIE 11-13-55; NIE 11-13/1-55; NIE 100-7-55; SNIE 100-8-55
C. NSC 5602
D. Memo for NSC from Acting Executive Secretary, same subject, dated February 13 and 24, 1956
E. Memo for NSC from Executive Secretary, subject: "U. S. Policy in the Event of a Renewal of Aggression in Vietnam", dated September 16, 1955
F. NSC Action No. 1522

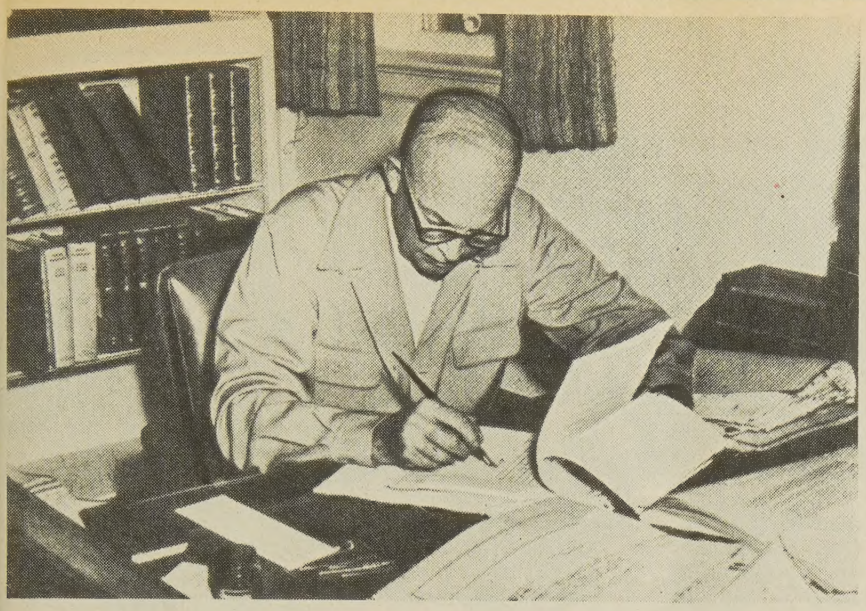
The National Security Council, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Special Assistant to the President for Disarmament, the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Ralph Spear for the Federal Civil Defense Administrator, and the Director, Bureau of the Budget, at the 277th and 278th meetings of the Council on February 27 and March 1, 1956, discussed the subject on the basis of the reference report (NSC 5602) in the light of the recommendations of the NSC Planning Board, transmitted by the reference memorandum of February 13, and the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, transmitted by the reference memorandum of February 24, 1956. The Council adopted the statement of policy contained in NSC 5602, subject to the changes set forth in NSC Action No. 1522-b.

The President has this date approved the statement of policy in NSC 5602, as amended and adopted by the Council and enclosed herewith as NSC 5602/1, and directs its implementation by all appropriate executive departments and agencies of the U. S. Government, with the understanding that final determination on budget requests based thereon will be made by the President after normal budgetary review.

NSC 5602/1 is a substitute for NSC 5501 and is the basic guide in the implementation of all other national ... any provisions in such other ... with it. ... reports to ... include

National Security Council's Directive 5602/1 of March 15, 1956.

Concluded. See issues 5 and 6, 1988.



President Eisenhower in his office.

reflections" - paradoxical ones at times. What was it that led the other side to exaggerate the "Soviet threat" following its spell of overenthusiasm about the A-bomb, and compelled it to reassess the likely outcome of a "general war"? Probably, the combined effect of various factors: habitual overstatement of the opponent's might aimed at securing funds for further arms buildup; competition between the various fighting arms; and, last but not least, the truly pathological anti-communism of the more conservative groups, morbidly suspicious of Moscow and gravely concerned about the enormous increase in the Soviet Union's prestige after World War II. All this, plus the triumph of the Chinese revolution in 1949 (also regarded as "Moscow's work"), the rise of democratic forces in Western Europe and the strengthening of the people's democratic regimes in Eastern Europe drove American anti-Communists to veritable psychosis.

War hysteria boomeranged: the Americans had to modify their plans. It should be borne in mind that in the highest echelons of power there were men of common sense who realized what a third world war would mean for America. Was it not common sense that prompted President Eisenhower to utter the phrase about bulldozers.

America had come far from Directives NSC 20/1 and NSC 68 to the decisions adopted in the Eisenhower epoch. Even then, though, there still remained quite a long way to go. Though they had proved sufficient to compel the American leadership to think better of its aggressive intentions, the "political deterrents" and the Soviet military potential of the fifties failed to halt the nuclear arms race. Photographs of Soviet territory taken by American spy satellites in 1961 revealed that the "missile gap," sensationalized to justify the need for an all-out buildup of strategic forces, was actually in the U.S.'s favour. Nevertheless, the Rand Corporation and Pentagon strategists hatched another war plan in case the political leadership decided on a surprise attack on the U.S.S.R. At a time when, as distinct from the forties, the composition and deployment of the Soviet strategic forces were known for certain, the plan seemed feasible. Analysts could not but arrive at the conclusion, however, that at least a few Soviet bombers would be able to break through and strike a retaliatory blow killing up to 10-15 million Americans.To quote Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod, critics of American military strategy: **"That the deaths of 10 to 15 million Americans might be an acceptable loss was not a persuasive argument for the NSC.... In a real crisis the elaborate theories of the war-fighters proved to be worth less than the computer paper they were printed on.... The losses might be militarily acceptable, but they weren't politically acceptable."**

In 1961-62 the administration conducted detailed research into the consequences of a nuclear war, and its findings corroborated the above-cited statistics. As Defence Secretary Robert McNamara informed joint hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees behind closed doors, the research had proved that a general nuclear war would leave **"50 to 100 million fatalities in each of the three areas, the Soviet Union, Western Europe and the United States."**

That was one reason why the administration, despite its superiority in nuclear arms, feared nuclear war and refrained from attacking the U.S.S.R. during the Caribbean crisis of 1962. However, the Americans were prepared to gamble on their local superiority in non-nuclear weapons, although a conventional war was also fraught with unpredictable consequences.

In his book published in 1986 Robert McNamara wrote the following: **"I will surprise you by stating that I believe parity existed in October 1962, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis. The United States then had approximately five thousand strategic warheads compared to the Soviets' three hundred. Despite an advantage of seventeen to one in our favour, President Kennedy and I were deterred from even considering a nuclear attack on the U.S.S.R. by the knowledge that, although such a strike would destroy the Soviet Union, tens of their weapons would survive to be launched against the United States. These would kill millions of Americans. No responsible political leader would expose his nation to such a catastrophe."**

Reasonable as it sounds, this passage does not mean that at the time the administration was free from advocates of a first strike. McNamara reported on a memo he had received from the Air Force command in November 1962, within a month of the crisis. The Air Force generals were demanding a buildup of the strategic forces which would enable them to deliver a first disarming strike. As for McNamara's own counterforce concept, which came down to suppressing the enemy's military installations, it bore a considerable resemblance to a disarming first strike. It should be observed that proponents of a "first strike" and a "victorious nuclear war" are to be found in the Reagan administration as well. In its directives for 1984-88, the Pentagon called for "gaining the upper hand" over the opponent.

It only remains to conclude that when the U.S. had an atomic monopoly and, later, enjoyed considerable strategic superiority over the U.S.S.R., Washington refrained from aggression not out of the "American peaceableness," much talked about in the United States, but for fear of the unacceptable politically, above all, damage that might be caused by a retaliatory strike. President Eisenhower took a realistic view of America's interests.

Although the postwar U.S. administrations deserve every criticism levelled against them, the realistic decisions they made ought to be given their due.

■

The little wooden man

A newspaper discussion about the birthplace of such Soviet children's favourites as Cheburashka or Pinocchio would not be taken seriously by many. Nonetheless, we recently received a letter from Leningrad championing the little wooden man. Pinocchio, it appears, has a very reputable pedigree as well as a venerable age, having only recently turned a hundred. Gennady Strongin, the civil engineer who wrote to us from Leningrad, knows everything there is to know about him, for he has a unique collection of 5,000 items dedicated to the long-nosed puppet.

Most of the items are books, including a facsimile of a first edition of Carlo Collodi's "Adventures of Pinocchio" published in Florence in 1883, and all editions of Alexei Tolstoi's story "The Little Golden Key or the Adventures of Buratino," based on Collodi's book.

Gennady Strongin with part of his collection.

There is a body of literature devoted to the two books. Some students believe that Collodi's description of Pinocchio's adventures echo Biblical stories. As for Alexei Tolstoi, it is said that he depicted Vsevolod Meyerhold's theatre in his account of the Karabas-Barabas puppet show, while Pierrot's moving verses about his unfortunate love parodied Alexander Blok's lyrics. Much in the magic of this homily for children is surprising. Incidentally, it is not only children who love the story. "To the Immortal Pinocchio from Grateful Readers from the ages of 4 to 70," runs the inscription on the pedestal of the bronze monument unveiled in Collodi's birthplace in Tuscany. The Italian sculptor Emilio Greco designed the monument, which was erected with funds collected from the savings of upwards of nine million children and adults in different countries.

Italians claim that the Pinocchio story has been published in every country where there are children. Indeed the book has been printed in 80-odd languages and has appeared out in some 300 editions in Italy alone. Our collector has most of them.

The music section is also extensive. It includes the scores of Alexander Kasagrande's one-act ballet "Pinocchio," which has been produced at the Moscow Operetta Theatre, and of Mechislav Weinberg's ballet "The Little Golden Key," which has enjoyed an invariably successful run for many years at the Stanislavsky - Nemirovich-Danchenko Music Theatre a little further up the same Moscow street. Also in this section we find gramophone and tape recordings, including one of Robertino Loretti's renderings of the "My Dear Pinocchio" romance, and Bulat Okudjava's soups for the motion picture "The Adventures of Buratino."

True enough, the little wooden man has long been a familiar figure in the worlds of film and television. According to UNESCO estimates, upwards of 400 films and TV programmes are based on the story, with Walt Disney's 1939 animated cartoon part of the golden treasury of children's films. Luigi Comencini's version won the Grand Prix for the best children's film at the Third International Film Festival in Moscow. Incidentally, film makers from Argentina presented a Pinocchio feature at the latest Moscow International Film Festival last year. Finally, one could mention the "History of the Little Wooden Man," an educational film, made recently by the Soviet Central Studios Documentary Films in Moscow.

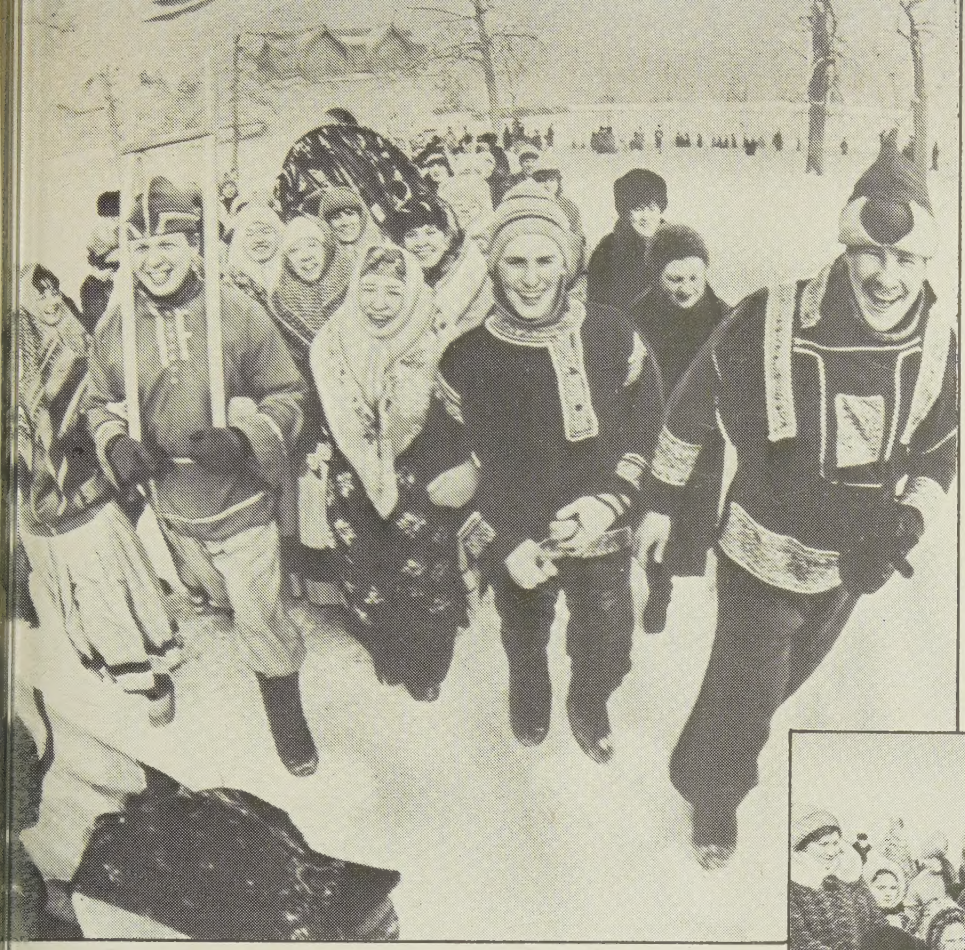
Strongin has on display sundry puppets and toys, theatre posters and programmes, badges, games, picture postcards. invitations, tickets, postage stamps and envelopes, masks, sweet wrappers and even bottle labels.

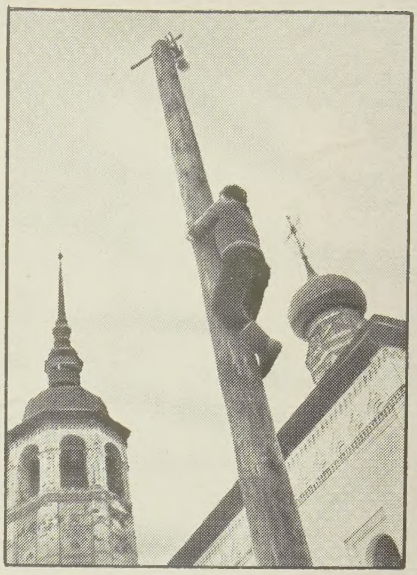
The Pinocchio monument.

Why is it that so many generations love the little wooden man? As the Soviet writer Emmanuil Kazakevich once said: "'The Adventures of Pinocchio' is a book that radiates charm, optimism, and an especially tender love for the workingman. We are not put off by the sentimentality typical of so many books written in the 19th century, as it goes hand in hand with such youthful, tempestuous and potent Italian folk humour, such mischievous and brimming imagination, such profound and melancholy awareness of human foibles and, at the same time, such powerful confidence in the victory of good over evil, that we here in the Soviet Union, young or old, cherish it dearly."

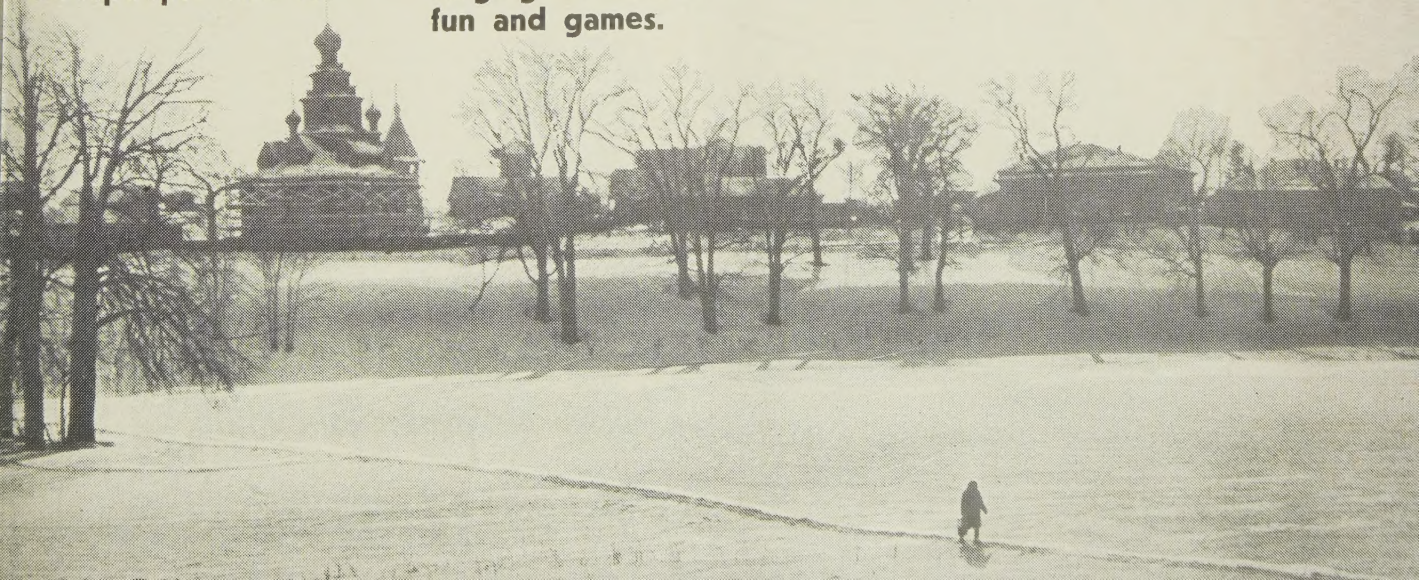
Strongin's domestic museum furnishes an illustration of a collection which is not for the enjoyment of its owner alone. In the evenings and at weekends the little wooden man's young friends flock to the collector's small flat in Leningrad.

SERGEI LEONIDOV





Suzdal is a museum city. Its temples and chambers have been entered in the UNESCO register as architectural monuments of value to all mankind. They draw thousands of tourists from all over the world. But Suzdal is not only a tourist attraction. For the townspeople and for villagers in the immediate area it is also the scene of annual Russian Winter festivals that breathe new life into ancient—sometimes forgotten—traditions. Each festival is an occasion for boisterous merrymaking, dancing, country-style singing and outdoor fun and games.



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